POOR KNIGHT'S SADDLE

by

Douglas V. Duff

Illustrated 12/6 *net*

"A very important and highly informative book . . . Mr. Duff has had many years' intimate experience of Palestine, and in *Poor Knight's Saddle* he records his discussions with many people of different races and in all ranks of society upon the whole question of the partition of Palestine. Only an author with profound knowledge of the Holy Land could have written this book, which offers a clear lead through the tortuous complexities of Palestinian politics."

—BOOKS OF TO-DAY

HERBERT JENKINS

Also
M. L. Liqueur Whisky
12 years old.

CONTENTS—*continued.*

		PAGE
THE FAR-EASTERN WAR		
CHINA'S RED ARMY FIGHTS ON	*Anna Louise Strong "New Masses," New York*	59
TRUMP CARD FOR PEACE	*"La République," Paris* ...	65
IN REMOTEST ASIA	*"North China Herald," Shanghai*	68
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	... ...	72
INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF	*Reviews by Douglas Reed, R. H. S. Crossman, Harold Brighouse, H. A. St. G. Saunders, Aylmer Vallance*	75
FINANCE		
RECOVERY IN THE BALANCE	*"Rapier"*	82
DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS	... ...	85

YOURS FOR LESS THAN

5d A DAY!

THE PORTABLE WITH A PEDIGREE

You can now have a brand new Remington Home Portable—the world's most popular portable—for less than 5d. a day. For 10/- down and 20 monthly payments of 10/- you can have this perfect writing machine—which has every essential feature of the big office typewriters—standard 4-bank keyboard, back-spacer, etc. Yet weighs only 11 lb., size 12½" x 12" x 5", complete with carrying case. Full year's guarantee. Send coupon TO-DAY for full details.

REMINGTON

HOME PORTABLE

Assembled in Great Britain by British labour £9.9.0 Cash or 10/- down and 20 monthly payments of 10/-.

ONLY **£9.9.0**

"More Remingtons built and sold in 1937 than any other make."

REMINGTON TYPEWRITER CO. LTD.
100, Gracechurch Street, London, E.C.3
('Phone: Mansion House 3333)

Please tell me how I can get a Remington Home Portable, complete with case, for less than 5d. a day.

Name .....

Address .....

CC373

A Request to Readers

In order to extend the influence of WORLD REVIEW, we would be grateful if you would send us the name and address of at least one friend to whom we might send a descriptive brochure.

40-42 Chandos Street
London, W.C.2

ESTIVIN

Relieves

HAY FEVER

We guarantee to refund your money upon receipt of the bottle, if ESTIVIN fails to relieve your condition.

WHAT MORE CAN WE SAY?

Free Samples are unnecesary in view of this offer.

Hundreds of unsolicited testimonials received from grateful sufferers only remind us of the countless thousands to whom ESTIVIN is still unknown. Please help us reach them by telling your friends about ESTIVIN, and our offer.

You can get 'ESTIVIN' from your Chemist, the price is 4/9 per bottle.

Or from the distributors, Messrs. Thos. Christy & Co. Ltd., 4-12, Old Swan Lane, London, E.C.4.

Clinical samples gladly sent to members of the Medical profession.

"Record breakers have learned that thinner **lubricants liberate more power. The new** lighter **grades of Patent Castrol pass on the benefits of racing experience to the motoring public"**

WAKEFIELD PATENT
Castrol LIGHTER GRADES LIBERATE POWER!

C. C. WAKEFIELD & CO. LTD. · All-British Firm · WAKEFIELD-HOUSE · CHEAPSIDE · LONDON · E.C.2

WORLD REVIEW

Volume V. No. 4. *Incorporating* *'REVIEW OF REVIEWS' and 'WORLD'* *June*, 1938

40 CHANDOS STREET
LONDON, W.C. 2

Telegrams: BOOKSTORE, LONDON
Telephone: TEMPLE BAR 0127—9

WORLD REVIEW is the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles from publications all over the world. These articles are chosen with great care, since WORLD REVIEW can only be valuable as its sponsors want it to be, if it avoids all political bias. *The Editor in his own article, and other signed contributors, express their opinions as frankly as they please.* Otherwise the Review would lack force and colour. But the ultimate object of WORLD REVIEW is to perform a useful and progressive service by allowing

THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

GREAT BRITAIN *V.* THE LEAGUE

by VERNON BARTLETT

THE League is dead. Long live the League ! For months diplomats, politicians, journalists and officials (including far too many of those in Geneva) have been wandering around with long faces, lamenting the collapse of the collective system and the increase of international gangsterism. They have agreed that it was a mistake not to clap effective sanctions on Italy if we were going to vote for sanctions at all; a mistake not to grant concessions to Germany when she was weak; a mistake not to insist at the very beginning of the Spanish war that non-intervention should be something other than a method whereby Germany and Italy could gain a foothold in Spain and possibly a stranglehold on the Straits of Gibraltar; a mistake not to do something about a more adequate distribution of the world's raw materials. But it seems never to have occurred to them that any of these errors could be made good, these wrongs could be righted.

Last month in Geneva Lord Halifax urged upon his colleagues round the table the adoption of measures which are designed to perpetuate these errors and wrongs and to destroy the collective system instead of oiling the machinery and preparing to use it afresh. He would be the last man to desire these results. In integrity, honesty and earnestness of purpose he stood, I believe, head and shoulders

above all his colleagues at the council table, with the possible exception of Mr. Jordan, the ex-London policeman, who represents New Zealand. His speech, requesting the Council's approval for his government's intention to recognise Italy's conquest of Abyssinia, was a public confession of private doubts in circumstances which he quite deliberately made as difficult for himself as possible. He wanted the Abyssinian delegates to be present, although he probably felt as sorry for them as any of his colleagues. He insisted on putting forward to the very best of his ability all the arguments that are used by those who most resent his policy. He even proposed—although this is not generally known—to make a private visit to the Negus after the meeting to say how sorry he was about the whole business.

* * * * * *

And yet his policy would involve the end of the League, with its conception of collective action against an aggressor and in aid of his victim. Indeed, the Polish delegate, M. Komarnicki, who can always be depended upon to say the right thing at the wrong time, congratulated him on the Anglo-Italian pact because it was a justification of the system of bilateral treaties instead of collective ones—and bilateral treaties, nine times out of ten, are either threats to third powers or the result of successful bullying of one power by another. It is quite true that the indefinite refusal to recognise the result of a conquest in defiance of treaties and decency will not undo the harm that has been done and will perpetuate that distrust which is most likely to lead to bigger and better wars. But is it conceivable that such recognition will turn the aggressor from his ways when it is displayed as a moral act instead of a piece of political opportunism? *Ipso facto* the aggression itself is given a coat of whitewash. And is it certain that the negative pressure of non-recognition had lost its power to deter that same aggressor in the future? Abyssinia is far from being conquered, and to accept the Italian claim that it has been, in face of all the evidence available and with no enquiry to obtain more, is to destroy the efficacy of a collective sanction which is valuable although it is devoid of risks for those who employ it. At least non-recognition implies a refusal to grant those credits with which the aggression can be made absolute.

Never, at any League Council meeting, have I heard so many people talking about "British hypocrisy." Even supporters of the

ineffable Georges Bonnet found such bitter things to say of Lord Halifax that one was bewildered. Could none of them understand how desperately sincere he was in his efforts to find moral arguments for his political actions? No man was ever more anxious not to deceive others, but to deceive himself.

But the result of the Council was strangely encouraging. The fury of the accusations against the British Foreign Secretary was in itself evidence of the vitality of the world's conscience. This peace machinery that it has been so fashionable to deride becomes something worth defending when even the dullest of the Colonel Blimps is worried by another sixpence on the income tax to help the machinery that prepares for war. Most of his club cronies probably react to the approaching danger by digging air-raid shelters in their gardens, but a few of them wonder whether, after all, there wasn't something in that Geneva idea of nations pooling their resources so that they may be too strong for any wild man to dream of attacking them. After all, the Englishman distrusts the Frenchman, and vice versa, but each feels a little more secure when he reads of Anglo-French staff conversations. Perhaps the system could be extended?

* * * * * *

The British government is now definitely on the side of those who desire the victory of General Franco in Spain, because there is some chance that it would lead to the withdrawal of Italian troops and to the enforcement of the Anglo-Italian agreement. But is that the way to discourage aggression? Inevitably it involves the upright Lord Halifax in all sorts of intrigues to silence in Geneva the spokesman of the legally recognised government of Spain which, from the very outbreak of the civil war, was always prepared and anxious to submit the whole question of foreign intervention to the League. Inevitably it compels members of the government to neglect in the House of Commons all evidence of Italian or German reinforcements, and to put on exactly the same footing the volunteers who straggled to Barcelona or Madrid and the regular detachments of troops despatched to Seville by the German or Italian governments. Inevitably it undermines in Great Britain and France that unity of public opinion on all grave issues which should be their greatest asset in face of the totalitarian states, and lessens the confidence of every democratic state in the world. The co-operation of the United States would be

absolutely essential if Great Britain were to survive another war, but why should the traditional American distrust of our motives disappear when our government makes agreements with aggressors at the expense of the Spaniards, the Abyssinians and (perhaps to-morrow) of the Chinese, and claims that its policy is one of peace?

* * * * * *

There are times when you see, in the new Palace of Peace in Geneva, faces distorted with anger and resentment. Lord Halifax, among the most peaceful and gentle of men, achieved that result by his attitude towards the Spanish resolution. To those of us who reflected that even while the Council was debating lives were being lost in Spain as the result of direct foreign intervention such as the League is supposed to prevent, the insistence of Señor del Vayo in demanding a vote on his draft resolution was understandable, and the attempts to squash it were indecent. Seven months earlier the League Assembly had pledged the government to abandon the stalling policy of non-intervention if "the immediate and complete withdrawal" of foreigners from Spain did not take place "in the near future." Since not a single volunteer had been withdrawn, the Spanish Foreign Minister was at least entitled to demand that the pledge should be carried out, even though it meant that "non-intervention" would be replaced by "neutrality," under which both administrations in Spain, and not the Republican Government alone, would be free to buy arms when and where they could. And yet his initiative was greeted as though it were an attempt to wreck the League, and Lord Halifax angrily protested that it was in contradiction to the policy he himself had outlined before the Council.

That vote on Spain was one of the most significant ever taken in Geneva. Every government represented at the long table in the Council room was alarmed by the idea of what might happen if "non-intervention," which in fact confined the new world war to Spain, were to be officially abandoned. How would Germany and Italy react? Would the struggle be transferred to some other area, nearer to their own homes? A known danger seems so much more acceptable than an unknown one. And yet only three states out of fourteen followed the British example and voted against the Spanish resolution—France, whose policy is now so bound up with that of Great Britain that she dares not act in opposition; Poland, whose

policy is now so bound up with that of Germany that, in the event of trouble in Czechoslovakia or elsewhere, Polish soldiers are expected to fight side by side with Germans; Roumania, who is hesitating between the Rome–Berlin and the London–Paris axes, and could please both by voting against the Spanish demand.

That Russia alone openly supported Spain is unimportant, for the resolution was only put forward in order to force governments to take sides. But that nine states abstained—states which in some cases could ill afford to offend Great Britain (China, for example, with her hopes of British credits); states such as Sweden and Belgium, whose devotion to collective security has scarcely wavered since the peace conference; one state, New Zealand, which is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, that great block of countries whose common loyalty is one of the few encouraging facts in a discouraging world—that such states abstained is a matter of the greatest significance. That they would not follow Great Britain and France is the surest proof that Great Britain and France—or rather the present policies of their governments—are in direct opposition to the League of Nations, the only existing or possible machinery for maintaining peace.

* * * * * *

Great Britain versus the League ! That is not a pleasant phrase to write. But it should stimulate rather than discourage. In the first place because that vote of May 13th—Friday, May 13th—showed how strong the determination still is to keep the collective system in existence. In the second place because the methods rather than the intentions of the British government are at fault. Mr. Chamberlain wants appeasement with Germany and Italy. He hates the idea of a world split into two hostile groups, divided by an abyss of ideological misunderstanding. And he sets out to build a bridge between them. Nothing could be better.

But there is one consideration he has failed to keep in mind, and that failure has, logically and inevitably, pushed him into open hostility towards the League; has brought Great Britain's reputation for international decency and honesty lower than one had ever thought to see it; and has threatened that virtual unity in our own country which must be maintained if we are to survive as a great power. This is the consideration. There are certain fundamental rules upon which

any society must be based if it is to last. The man who resorts to violence, robbery or deceit becomes an enemy of society and has to be treated as such. The society collapses if his delinquencies are accepted and condoned.

As far as international life is concerned, human ingenuity has not yet found a way of writing down the fundamental rules of conduct in a better form than that of the League Covenant. We can make all sorts of concessions to Germany, Italy or any other country we like (and nobody could honestly pretend that so wealthy and powerful a concern as the British Empire has none to make), but *only* on condition that we adhere always to the principles contained in that Covenant. Once we find excuses for departing from those principles we get what we deserve—hatred, contempt, distrust and, in the last instance, war. And the British government can turn the issue any way it likes, seek to hide it with fine phrases or attacks upon its critics, take steps to hasten the dismissal of Abyssinia from the League and the defeat of Republican Spain by the Italians, but it will not bring peace one fraction of time nearer until it returns to the principles of the Covenant.

COMPENSATION

A mother held forth to me about the advantages of being a débutante these days. " When I was a deb. there was nothing a girl could talk about that would interest a mature dinner partner. Nowadays a girl has only to say firmly that she is a Fascist or a Communist, or has just come back from Spain or Russia, and she is quite certain of attention. And anyway, there's always the next war to talk about."—*Writer in " Time and Tide," London.*

OUT OF STEP

The day after the death of Chaliapin, *L' Humanité* (Communist) published an article, full of emotion: " Genius singer, incomparable talent, friend of France," etc. But on the same day, in Moscow, Soviet journals described the same Chaliapin as fascist, Hitlerite, obscene viper, Bukharinite jackal and other zoological species. The editor of *L'Humanité* can be prepared for a surprise; and that will teach him to have an opinion about a singer before reading *Pravda.—Je Suis Partout, Paris.*

A LITTLE, VERY PEACEFUL ISLE

Colonel Lindbergh, desirous of finding peace, has become the owner of the little Breton island of Illiec, where he intends to reside with his family.

It is stated that Czechoslovakia, which also aspires to tranquillity, is now thinking of buying a little island to which it will retire.—" *Le Canard Enchainé,*" *Paris.*

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

Each month one particular figure steps to the front of the world political stage, joining the dictator stars who move permanently in the limelight. Each month too, British Statesmen have to grapple with problems connected with these figures. In this section an observer takes us behind the scenes to watch the performers and admire, or criticise, the stagecraft with which they are handled

Founding a Party

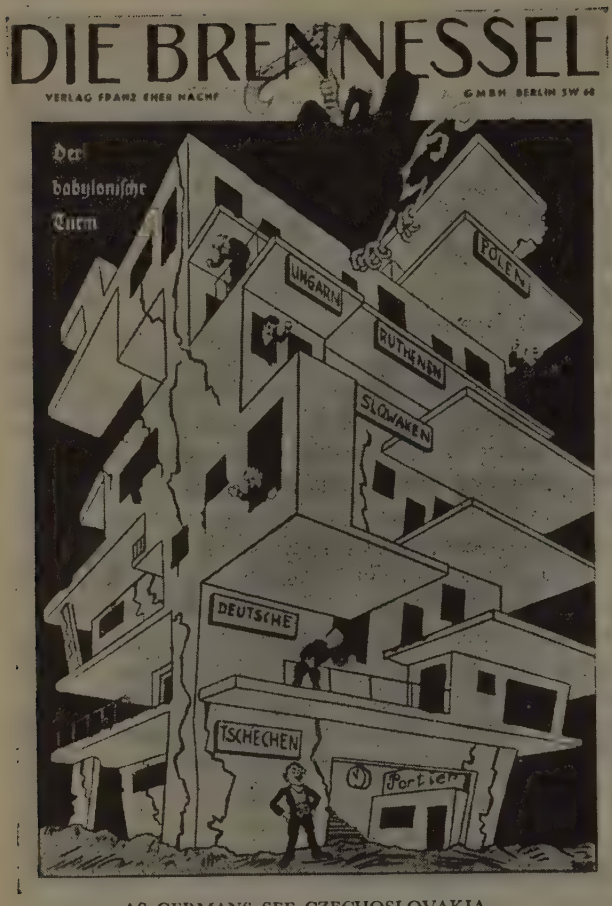
KONRAD HENLEIN leader of the Sudeten German party in Czechoslovakia, hates every "ism" except Hitlerism. In his magazine articles he raises the battle-cry against Liberalism, Pacifism, Marxism, Americanism, Bolshevism, Democracy and the falling birth-rate; all these heresies he looks on as incompatible with the heroic life. On the Jewish question he is an orthodox Nazi, but as a *Führer* he lacks glamour.

The Sudeten German party, as it stands to-day, is a blend of several elements. The most important of these is the old *Kameradschaftsbund*, founded soon after the War by Heinrich Rutha, an interior decorator with a fine voice and an expert touch on the guitar. The prophet from whom the *Bund* derived its ideas was not Hitler, but a Viennese history professor called Othmar Spann; the Sudeten Germans, having once formed part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, looked on Vienna as their focal point and were shocked at Hitler's militarism and anti-clericalism.

Political Jerks

Herr Henlein's chance of entering the party came when Rutha realised the importance of controlling the German gymnastic associations or *Turnverein*. After serving in the War, being wounded and taken prisoner by the Italians, Herr Henlein had slipped into a groove as a bank clerk at Reichenberg. His surplus energy was devoted to work as an unpaid instructor in the local *Turnverein*. When the *Bund* leaders got in touch with him, he threw up his job and became a paid instructor at Asch.

His organising qualities brought him quickly to the fore, and in 1933 a campaign was started to have him proclaimed *Führer* of the



AS GERMANS SEE CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Czech Concierge: "All right, go on grumbling—I don't understand a word you're saying"

Sudeten Germans. In the same year he made a great success of the annual gymnastic festival at Saaz. At this moment of rising popularity when the Czech Government had just banned the Nazi and Nationalist parties, he decided on the formation of a "United Home Front." The first proclamation, issued from a room in the Hotel Stern at Eger, met with a triumphant response; there was only one dissatisfied voice, that of Hitler in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, who feared that Nazi ideals would be ousted by those of the Spann circle. But, with the crushing of Austria, the rival centre of attraction is gone.

Average Man

Stolid and honest, Herr Henlein is a man of few ideas, and those are other people's. He wears steel-rimmed spectacles and walks with

a sort of mitigated goose-step. His speeches are nearly always read from a typescript, but from time to time he remembers to put in a lively gesture. He seldom lets himself go, except among peasants; then his simple phrases and lack of conceit win him confidence. But he is at his best in the committee-room, where he gets his own way with tact and firmness. His strength lies in being average.

Can Czechoslovakia be Saved?

The Sudeten German problem is one in which the principle of self-determination conflicts with the interests of peace. Germany knows this and is making all the capital she can out of it. The more the Western powers are troubled by their consciences, the greater their paralysis; and Germany, having no apparent conscience at all, expands like a boa-constrictor. In 1831 France was induced to give up her claims to the French-speaking part of the Low Countries in order to avert a general war and the unbalancing of Europe. Belgian independence made it possible for Britain and France to compose the quarrels of centuries. To-day, if Czechoslovakia remains intact, there might still be some hope of bridging the Franco-German chasm.

Well-informed quarters in London discount the idea of a war over Czechoslovakia. A German move is less likely to provoke actual fighting than an increase in tension and a heightening of those suspicions which are the psychological groundwork of war. M. Daladier has declared categorically that, in spite of obvious difficulties, France will stand by her pledge to support Czechoslovakia in case of aggression. But how, at the most optimistic estimate, can she do anything effective? French circles calculate that, in the event of a *coup*, Poland might adopt a hostile attitude and oblige Hitler to man the Polish frontier. Then, after the manning of the Maginot line had immobilised the pick of the German Army in the west, there would be very few troops left over for the attack on Czechoslovakia. But is this enough? Surely not without a French offensive, and this seems completely out of keeping with the present temper of France. Russia's help is even less certain.

Need for Concessions

In the British view, Czechoslovakia has only one hope of keeping her integrity; that is by adopting the way of concession. If she confers on the German minority a sufficient measure of freedom, there is

just a chance that Herr Hitler may be placated. Britain and France have urged her to go as far in meeting Herr Henlein's demands as is compatible with her independence. But will that be far enough for Germany? The Nazis are particularly anxious that the Czechs should give up their " un-German " foreign policy of pacts with France and Russia; they point out that, had Switzerland, a state combining several nationalities, inclined towards any outside nation, she would never have survived. In their opinion, a " Nationality State," as they call it, can only be safe if it adopts a strictly neutral role. But President Benes knows that neutrality means vassalage. The Sudeten Germans are also seeking " full liberty to profess German nationality and German political philosophy." Yet how can Nazi and democratic ideals flourish side by side under the one federal constitution?

Herr Henlein has not so far asked for the *Anschluss* with Germany, although it is said to be a common topic among his followers. This is taken to mean that Herr Hitler is giving the Czechs a last chance of coming to heel spontaneously. But, as everyone knows, German patience is short-lived, and a settlement is urgently wanted in Berlin. There is always the danger that Herr Henlein will consider the Czech offer unsatisfactory and agitate for the *Anschluss*; then, if the Czechs interfere, the Nazis will feel obliged to protect their " blood-brothers." Even so, partition raises many difficulties. In certain districts the Sudeten Germans form the mass of the population, but on balance it is calculated that a fresh boundary could hardly be drawn without incorporating some 380,000 Czechs in the German area and some 730,000 Germans in the Czech area. A final settlement could only be reached by a transfer of population such as was successfully carried out between Turkey and Greece after the Turkish revival.

The Next Move

But, in the meanwhile, there are many imponderables. What are the German plans? Would the Czechs fight rather than be strangled? Would France, after all, make a determined effort on behalf of her security? Herr Hitler cannot entirely leave out of account the danger of war, and a peaceful settlement would keep the door open for a fresh British approach. The National Government, whatever their opinion of German good faith, are pledged to conciliation as the only policy which can keep disaster at arm's length.

THE OPEN FORUM

A POLICY FOR BRITAIN

by THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN

In this section each month we publish the opinions of men of international fame, without necessarily sharing the views they express. The following is an extract of an important address given by Lord Lothian to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, and is reprinted by courtesy of the Institute from its Journal, "International Affairs," for May–June, 1938. The first part of Lord Lothian's address, which we omit, consisted of a summary of post-War history, ending with the words with which the extract quoted below begins. Owing to Lord Lothian's leadership for many years in the cause of Anglo–German agreement, and the influence which he is believed to have on British policy, it is particularly interesting to learn where he now stands

IF another war comes and the history of it is ever written, the dispassionate historian a hundred years hence will say not that Germany alone was responsible for it, even if she strikes the first blow, but that those who mismanaged the world between 1918 and 1937 had a large share of responsibility for it. I say this unpalatable thing because I think it is necessary to a balanced view and is a corrective to the natural instinct of hatred and indignation which springs up when we see what is going on.

Now I come to what really interests everybody to-day : What are we going to do now? Personally I think that a fundamentally new situation has been created by the incorporation of Austria in National Socialist Germany. I have long thought it was inevitable, especially as the only alternative, a Danubian federation, was blocked, though I did not think it was inevitable that it should be done in

the violent way in which it has been done. . . . You can now say that the fundamentals of the German case, the unity of the German people in a strong independent state, fundamentals which it was extraordinarily difficult to get recognised by consent, have now been won by rapid and unilateral action. The remaining questions, the small German minorities, the colonial question, the economic problem, are, I think, matters which can be and ought to be settled by negotiation. Moreover I think that the rest of the world is now quite willing to negotiate about these matters provided it is able to feel that an agreed settlement of them will mean a lasting peace. Of course, the corporation of Austria in Germany by this totalitarian method, with its instant transformation of Austria into part of the German military system, makes a fundamental change in the strategic position in Europe. It gives to Germany a strategic and economic dominance in Central Europe which she did not have before and which nothing that anybody can do now can alter.

How to Stop Change by Violence

But the question which I ask myself, and which I know a lot of you are asking yourselves, is this : Hitler has adopted the method of altering the *status quo* by the unilateral use of his strength. Up to the present his objective has been justifiable. It has concerned only Germans, except for the miserable minorities in Germany and Austria. Other nations have done so also, Japan in the Far East, Italy in Abyssinia and Spain, with far less justification. Is it possible to stop that method with the momentum behind it which the success it has gained has given it, unless the rest of the world is ready to say that there is a limit beyond which they are willing and equipped to accept the challenge of war ? That is what we have to face now. Can you convince those who have practised this violent method of bringing about perhaps overdue changes that the day has come when they must abandon that method and return to the method of negotiation on the understanding that negotiation will be honest and fair, unless you can convince them that the democracies of the world are prepared to face war rather than see the world transformed bit by bit, inch by inch, by the method of power politics. The difficulty is that that card is the card which every democracy in the world is most reluctant to play. It is the card which every democratic govern-

ment finds it most difficult to play because it knows that it cannot enter a war unless it has got a united country behind it. Yet the issue is bound to arise for the reason that so long as nations insist on maintaining their sovereignty and are unwilling to federate, the ultimate instruments for dealing with international affairs will remain power politics and war, and it is quite clear nobody is prepared to federate to-day.

Universal Dread of War

I think it is true that the only argument which will induce the dynamic totalitarian regimes to return to what you might call constitutional methods of international intercourse is the conviction that if they attempt to get what is unjust by power politics they will find themselves confronted by what every one of them is most afraid of, world war. There is not a government in the world which would dream of starting a world war, for the reason that nobody can tell what its outcome would be, except that any regime which enters the next world war will certainly not be in power at the end of it. Therefore the question we have to answer is whether there is any way in which the method of altering the *status quo* by power politics or war —a method for the return to which we must bear some measure of responsibility—can be stopped in any other way than by being willing to accept the challenge of resisting it, if need be, by war, while providing a just and alternative method of revision by pacific means.

We are in a much more difficult position to-day than we were a few years ago, for the reasons which I have given. I think we have squandered the authority of the League by trying to use collective security for purposes which were fundamentally unjust, for denying its natural rights to Germany. While we were doing this five of the Great Powers have gone outside the League, and a good many more members, while still members of it, are clearly going to remain neutral if they can if war comes. Therefore, if there is going to be any collective resistance to further attempts at what is called aggression, it can only be if the nations, members of the League and otherwise, concerned to resist aggression, enter into quite specific military obligations and get the General Staffs to advise them as to the points at which their action will be effective and the points at which their common action cannot be effective. The first step will

estimate accurately what our real military strength is and that of our associates as opposed to potential aggressors. The second is to use it for purposes which have a universal appeal. If Great Britain pursues a policy purely concerned with its own national interest every other nation in the world will tend to do the same, and the way will be open for alterations in the *status quo* by the methods of power politics, because there will be no collective action against them. I do not think you will get the Dominions, you certainly will not get much friendly support from the United States, unless you can convince public opinion (and you have got to get the support of the Left as well as the Right at home to get a united country) that your policy will not only protect the British Commonwealth, but does lead towards a new and better international order. And it is much more difficult to do that to-day than it was a few years ago, because the League has squandered so much of its authority, partly in refusing the just claims of Germany and partly in offering ineffective resistance to aggression elsewhere.

Last Heterogeneous State

There are two questions which are in the forefront of people's minds to-day : Czechoslovakia and Spain. I do not think I need discuss the practical difficulties of the Czechoslovakian problem. They have been discussed at length in the newspapers and I think in this hall. The fundamental difficulty is that while Czechoslovakia geographically has a good natural frontier it is now almost the only racially heterogeneous State left in Europe to-day. Switzerland is the only other case. It has, therefore, elements of disintegration within itself unless its minority problems are handled both justly and firmly. If Czechoslovakia had only set itself up at the beginning on Swiss lines, as was suggested at Paris, things would be very different now. I have not had time, this afternoon, to study the Prime Minister's declaration,* but, as far as I can understand, what he says is that while Great Britain will honour the so-called " Leamington obligations," that is the guarantee to France and Belgium against unprovoked aggression, the defence of the British Commonwealth, and its alliances with Portugal, Iraq and Egypt, it must keep a free hand as to the extent to which it can live up to what may be called general

* *Of March 24th*, 1938

League principles in the rest of Europe, because the test in each case is the circumstances and the degree of effective power the League can exert. As regards Czechoslovakia, he says that he will not accept any new commitments, but that he cannot say that in the event of unprovoked aggression Great Britain will not go to war. I confess I do not see that he could have said anything else to-day.

Spain is much more difficult. I had three days not very long ago in Rome. Therefore you will not class me among the experts, though there are many people who go three days to a place and then come and talk as if they were experts. But the impressions that I formed were these. Italy wants peace—that is, the mass of the Italian people. They are tired of adventure. I think that to-day they are profoundly worried about the appearance of the Germans on the Brenner. And there is nothing that most of them would like more than to get back to the old healthy friendly relationship with Great Britain. But the policy of Italy is not determined by the people, but by one man, a very remarkable man, but a man of Napoleonic mind and a man who, since he successfully played poker with fifty-two nations and defeated them about Abyssinia, has been unable to rid his mind of the Napoleonic dream of Empire. He is pursuing to-day in Italy two quite contradictory policies. What Italy, on the domestic side, really needs is twenty years of " living poor " in order to make up its reserves and get the corporative State

NO MORE ENCIRCLE-MENT

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin

going and gradually raise the standard of living of its people. But its foreign policy in Abyssinia, Spain, Libya and so on is using up the resources which are really needed for internal reconstruction. My own belief is that if you are going to deal with Mussolini you have got to convince him that he cannot get Egypt in his lifetime. If you convince him of that he may go back to the policy of developing Italy and its present possessions and of having real friendship with us. But as long as the dream that we can be thrown out of the Mediterranean so that Italy becomes our heir in the Eastern Mediterranean seems a possibility I do not believe he will abandon it voluntarily. Can you convince him that he has no chance of getting Egypt in his lifetime? He cannot get it in a single combat with ourselves—that is certain. But so long as the democracies are weak and divided, and so long as the anti-Comintern Powers might intervene, as a whole, in a general international adventure, I do not think he will abandon his dream.

Vital British Interests in Spain

The future depends also very largely on Spain. In Spain I think the policy of non-intervention was fundamentally right—that is to say, it was the right policy for the democracies to say that the Spanish people must be left to settle their own affairs, and that at the end of the war Spain must be a truly independent country, free to choose her own policy for herself. The root of the trouble in Spain has been the attempt of both Communists and Fascists to settle things in their own favour by violence, violence applied both internally and from outside. We were quite right not to become engaged in this conflict of violent political philosophies ; but can you be sure that in the event of Franco winning, or in the event of the Government winning, though that is at the moment much less probable, you will have an independent Spanish Government to deal with at the end of the war? I think it is a vital British interest, I think it important from the point of view of peace, that whoever governs Spain at the end of the war should be a genuinely independent government. Such a government will pursue a policy which will be in the interests of Spain, and not in the interests of anybody else, and it will seek peace and good relations with its neighbours. But if it pursues a policy in the interests of a group hostile to ourselves, it will have a motive for

mounting guns near Algeciras, which will make Gibraltar untenable in the event of a war in which Spain was a belligerent on the other side. If that happened, then the possibility of defending Egypt effectively would become by so much the less, and the possibility of coming to real terms with Mussolini would also become so much the less.

Call for National Service

There are two other points which I think are worth mentioning about the general thesis that now that Germany has at last taken back her fundamental rights, we may be able to get the world back to the principle of negotiation on League lines, as opposed to the methods of power politics. As I have said, I think the fundamental basis for doing that is that we can convince the totalitarian Powers and others that Great Britain is in the last resort prepared to fight and is equipped to fight and is prepared to stand air warfare, without quailing, for the sake of this principle. Personally I think that the adoption of some form of national service for the emergency—if possible national service voluntarily undertaken ; if that is not possible, on the basis of a national register—would have as much effect as anything else in convincing the world that the era when everybody has got to go back to negotiation has arrived. The Achilles' heel of this country is doubt as to what would happen if you got really effective modern bombing on London. Modern bombing means hundreds of bombers making say three journeys every twenty-four hours indefinitely on a specified objective. You cannot deal with that only by counter-attacks. The essential thing is to have your civilian population really disciplined and organised, so that you can deal with fire and casualties and prevent the roads being blocked by cars and foot passengers, and so keep them open for food supplies, fire engines, ambulances, road and sewage and cable-mending parties, and so on. If you can do that I don't think air bombing is very effective. It will probably, therefore, not be treated as an important element in war. But, because of the speed of modern war, you cannot improvise these arrangements after the war has begun. What frightens everybody is the possibility of London waking up and finding that it is unable to feed itself because of the destruction of its communications. When this doubt disappears, then you will be able to face threats fearlessly.

Secondly, I think it is very important to encourage and fortify the other democracies, and especially France. It has been suggested that if we were willing to make a loan to France on condition that she took the drastic steps necessary to put her own finances and economic system in order, the capital which has now left France would instantly come back, because confidence would have been restored. The loan could then be immediately repaid, and the influence of France as a stabilising factor in Europe would be immensely increased.

Non-Violent Resistance

Now one final word about pacifism. I think Mr. Gandhi has said the best thing about pacifism. He has said that if you are a pacifist because you are frightened of the suffering involved in fighting for your country, it is far better you should get into uniform and fight for its freedom. But he also thinks that the only thing which in the long run is going to end war is non-violent resistance, and that is a more painful and more difficult, even if more effective, method than war. It is not non-resistance. It is resisting non-violently. He gave me the illustration of Abyssinia. If the Abyssinians had reached the point, which no nation has yet reached, that they had been able to go to the frontier when the Italians were about to cross it and say : " You have no right in this country. You are committing a wrong. We are not going to resist you violently because we do not believe that in the long run peace comes from violence. Violence breeds violence. But we are going to resist you to the end non-violently. No Abyssinian man, woman or child will render you any assistance, will do labour for you or sell or give you food or render you any co-operation in the wrong you are committing. Though you may flay us alive, beat us, machine-gun us and destroy us, none of us will co-operate with you in your crime. We will resist you to the end. The only service we will render you is to nurse you when you are sick, because we must prove to you and to ourselves that we love you and do not hate you." Now, that is a very high gospel. There is no nation in the world which is near practising it. But Mr. Gandhi thinks that when nations reach that point war will end upon earth, and not before.

I do not want to end these considerations of what has happened

during the last few weeks on a pessimistic note. I feel a good deal more cheerful than I have for the last year or two, for the reason that I believe Great Britain is at last beginning to find its purpose and its soul. It is coming to realise that collective security and collective justice are inseparable, and that if you do not have the one you cannot have the other. I think, personally, that if you can convince the world on the one hand that there is a practical way of getting collective justice, without war, as there has not been for the last fifteen or twenty years, and, on the other, that resort to war or power politics for unjust purposes, or without having exhausted the alternative methods, will be prevented by nations who are ready to face war for the purpose, it will be possible once more to put substance behind the League ideal. Despite the undeniable risks and dangers of the present time, despite the fact that a serious crisis may be necessary before we can make a fresh start to apply League principles, I am not pessimistic about the future, because the fundamental obstruction to the League in the past, its inability or refusal to do justice to Germany, has at last been removed by Germany herself. The danger to-day is that, because the rest of the world has forced her into getting her rights by the method of violence, and because she is now under a constitution admirably adapted for the use of violence, the momentum of her past will carry her farther, and also her associates, and make her issue a challenge which can only be stopped by a general war. Whether that tragedy can be averted depends, I believe, very largely on whether we make the moral and material preparations necessary to convince everybody that we are, in the last resort, prepared to face it. But if on our own chosen ground we do face it, I think we shall bring into being the foundations of the new world order we have all dreamed of, without war, because the farther the dictatorships go in repressing opinion and minorities in their own countries, and in attempting to dominate or restrict the freedom of others, the greater will their own inner weakness become, and the more formidable will be the external opposition they will create.

THE BEST WARS

You Want the Best Wars : We Have Them! Première : "Thunder Over the Orient" and Ernest Hemingway's "Spanish Earth." See Your Civilisation To-day. Women and Children SHOT TO BITS!—*Advertisement of Cinema, London.*

BRITAIN'S UNPREPAREDNESS

Following is a report of the speech made by General Aspinall-Oglander in the debate which followed Lord Lothian's address, also reprinted from "International Affairs," May–June issue

IT had been a great pleasure to hear the lecturer speak not only about what Great Britain ought to do, but what she was at this moment equipped and able to do, before attempting to cry "Halt" to the dictators and bring them back from forceful methods to negotiation. During previous debates a great deal had been said about what should be done without any reference to what could be done. It was dangerous to talk about what should be done without considering the utter unreadiness of Great Britain for war to-day. In time of war, or even of crisis, it had been proved many times that diplomacy without adequate strength behind it was bankrupt, that bluff was most unsafe, and that policy must never be allowed to outstrip one's military preparations. In other words, in time of crisis it was necessary to cut one's coat according to one's cloth.

How much cloth had Great Britain to-day? Only a short time ago she had been pursuing a policy of unilateral disarmament, and the Empire had been going in for the most outrageous exhibition of strip-tease ever seen. Lord Hailsham had said that it looked as though the only defence for chastity was complete nudity. In those days anyone who asked for rearmament had been called a war-monger or a war-profiteer. A little later, after the disastrous humiliations which had been the result of this policy, the whole procedure had been reversed, and it had been decided, not without opposition, that rearmament was necessary. The country had been told it would take us four or five years and would cost fifteen hundred million pounds. Last week it had been stated that that sum would not suffice, but that a great deal more would have to be spent. To-day only one-fifth of the original estimate had been spent. The start had been made from scratch. The time so far had been principally spent in building and equipping factories, manufacturing machinery, supplying machine tools and training skilled workers. The actual supply of machines for the Air Force and armaments for the Army was only just beginning. Great Britain was still lamentably unready for war, yet those who

had most criticised the policy of rearmament and its supporters had now turned themselves into war-martyrs, and were attacking those who had foreseen some of the dangers which now face us, by calling them Do-nothings or "Shiver Sisters."

Fortunately the Navy was, as ever, beyond reproach, but the days had passed when the Navy alone could keep Great Britain inviolate. Unfortunately it was common knowledge that our preparations against air attack were incomplete, and London, the heart of the Empire, the home of a quarter of the population of Great Britain, was the most vulnerable point in the whole world. Concerning British offensive power in the air, an eminent authority on flying matters, himself a supporter of the Government, had said in the House of Commons last week that Germany already had twice as many aeroplanes as Great Britain, and that her monthly output of 'planes was three hundred and fifty, while Great Britain's had not yet reached a hundred. Also the latter did not possess a single bomber capable of flying to Berlin and back. The best that the Government spokesman had been able to say in reply was that the Government hoped that in twelve months' time Britain's machines would be

"Kladderadatsch" *Berlin*

BRITAIN, TOO, IS TURNING HER ATTENTION TO POPULATION POLICY
"Stop! Don't try and escape, Ma'am!"

"up to a comparative standard with those of other countries." Only so much ; and only after twelve months ! The Army, comparatively speaking, was not ready for war. It was still twenty thousand below its small normal peace-time establishment. When one thought of all the young men waiting outside the Unemployment Exchanges, to whom, because Great Britain was a free country, the Labour Exchange officers were not even allowed to suggest that they would be more happily and usefully employed in serving their country than in living on the dole, it made one wonder whether Great Britain still deserved to be a great country. In 1914 she had had an Expeditionary Force of six divisions ready in every respect for foreign service. To-day she might be able to equip two divisions.

That being the size of our cloth, were we to cut it up at once and go out into the rain with a coat only reaching to our waists, or should we wait till we had got more cloth, in the belief that we could better survive an even heavier storm in a coat that reached to our feet ?

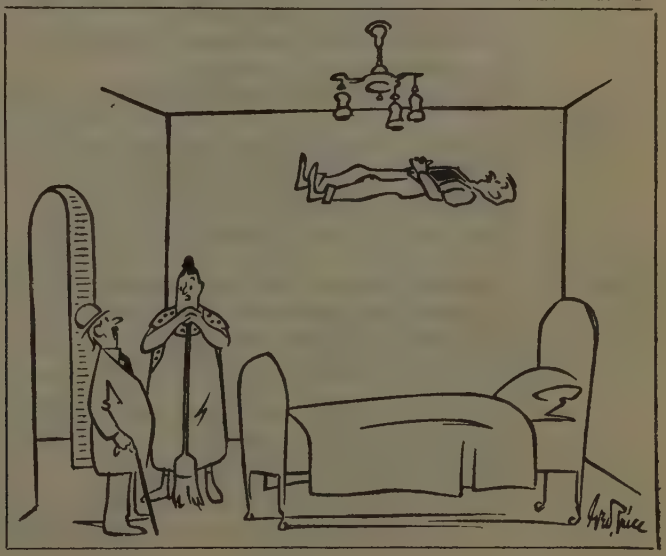
There were three possible courses ; one was, in effect, to wait until there was a definite attack on or threat to British soil, and then to send the Navy after the aggressors and sink the whole damn lot of them ! The second course had been greatly advocated. It was to throw down the gauntlet to the dictators, to hope that they would not have the courage to pick it up, and to trust that if they did by any chance pick it up, Great Britain's good friends the French, who had always gone in for national service, and their rather questionable friends the Russians, who were supposed to have a big army though they had no generals, would be kind enough to pull the chestnuts out of the fire and make Great Britain safe for a democracy which she would not take the trouble to make safe for herself. The third course which the speaker recommended was for the British to keep their heads, to go on arming with watchful care and great energy, and to strive to make public opinion realise that every man and woman in the country must be ready to do something, not only after war had broken out, but now, while there was still time, for the defence of their great heritage. There was a great deal, including time, on their side. The dictators had their own problems. Even they were mortal. The storm, when it came, might be heavier, but there was just a chance that the clouds might disperse without inter-

ference from outside. Collective security, if it could be obtained, was most desirable, but it must be real collective security, not collective security on the cheap for Great Britain. She must play her full part, and before war began. If liberty and democracy were worth fighting for, surely they were worth the sacrifice entailed by preparing in time of peace to defend them. In 1914 the ring had been kept for months and months while Great Britain prepared. In 1938 Hitler had entered Austria in three days. London might get seven minutes. The lesson of the last fortnight was that if Great Britain wanted security, she must bring in some form of national service. It would do more than anything to make the dictators realise that the country was in earnest, and to rally friends to Great Britain's side. It would give new life to the League of Nations. Then not only would Great Britain be able to choose the foreign policy which she desired, but to support it with the force necessary to ensure that it would prevail.

TAKING NO CHANCES

The study of German in New York high schools has fallen off 30 per cent since the Nazis came into power. Our kids fear that if they are heard speaking the language, Hitler will come over and liberate them.—"*New Yorker.*"

"He says the isolationist policy is the only realistic one"



"*New Masses,*" *New York*

IN MEMORIAM

" After his (Lord Halifax's) speech almost every comment I heard was one of unparalleled hypocrisy ; very few delegates or journalists realised that he was explaining the struggle in his own conscience."—Vernon Bartlett at League of Nations, May 12

To this imperfect world I cry:
" Let every conscience make its choice "
Charged with the delegated voice
Of him who never spoke a lie,

Who, by whatever tortuous route,
Explores the paths of peace alone,
Who eases, but does not condone,
Enjoyment of aggression's fruit.

Who, out of this collective wreck,
Leads Britain on her onward march
And drops the keystone of the arch
Become a millstone round the neck.

I count it not a total loss
To ratify what we deplore,
Or, torn between the Christian—or
The crooked—or the double-cross,

To lean upon the latter, strong
In faith that black will turn to white,
By spiritual means, and right
Will somehow be the end of wrong.

To shrink from member-states at war,
And with ideals in conflict cope,
And faintly trust the larger hope
That leads through darkness back to Hoare,

And, borne above the tempest wild,
To prove how, somehow, it must be
That, sole among the nations, we
Touch pitch and yet are not defiled.

To scheme in Pre-Geneva grooves
On our Imperial safety bent,
And forge that peace-by-armament
To which the whole creation moves.

REYNARD.

PEACE AND MR. CHAMBERLAIN

BARRIER TO GERMANY

From "L'Homme Libre," Paris, 30.4.38

The strengthening of the Anglo–French Entente to the point of a military defensive alliance has been greeted by Popular Front journals rather on the lines that "You can't look a gift horse in the mouth"—and that in any case the horse is growing some useful teeth. Here is a typical comment

MR. CHAMBERLAIN is, it seems, a business man, who treats politics as though they were a matter of trusts and mergers, a little more complex perhaps than the type current in Manchester or London, but with the same aim—to conclude, for better or worse, and without bothering too much about forms and sentiment, the most profitable contracts possible. This is neither heroic nor in conformity with our taste for uncompromising ideologies ; it is not the mentality of a crusader, it is very English, full of common sense and empiricism.

So what? We have no choice in the matter, and it may well

be that these unspectacular manoeuvres may be as good as blustering and bragging, especially when accompanied by a formidable accumulation of resources and unprecedented military preparation. In any case we shall know before long whether Chamberlain's method is the right one. The French government seems fairly well convinced of it.

Those who are not satisfied for reasons of doctrine or sentiment —and we can well understand that some qualms of conscience are inevitable—are begged to suggest another policy which will not lead us to war, and which will assure the maximum advantage for France. We expect more than sonorous adjectives and passionate imprecations.

It is quite clear that the joint forces of England and France, apart from the *rapprochement* with Italy and the hypothetical support of Russia and of our wavering allies in Central Europe and the East, are enough to make the dictators stop and think, no matter how imbued with mysticism they may be, or how convinced of their divine mission, or how determined to trust to their luck to the end.

It seems that in many respects the resources of the two nations, the two empires let us say, are complementary. What is more, we have only to have recourse to the lessons of war-time in order at once to find very considerable experience available, for between 1914 and 1918 all kinds of reserves were effectively combined. Without going that far for the present, we are told first of all of possible financial support, which is very welcome ; one aspect of the French problem is the return, under the guise of loans and credits, of the 80,000 million francs of expatriated capital, a large part of which fled to the Anglo-Saxon countries.

Value of British Air Force

We are then told, and I want to emphasise this, about conversations between the general staffs, and a co-ordination of war manufactures. I have already had occasion to underline the fact that the British Air Force would not be available immediately, and that nevertheless the present weakness of our Air Force would require this aid, would demand it instantly, in the event of trouble on our eastern frontier. Many things are necessary before some hundreds of aeroplanes can appear in our skies and participate in its defence : Air ports, petrol stores, stocks of spare parts, even workshops for

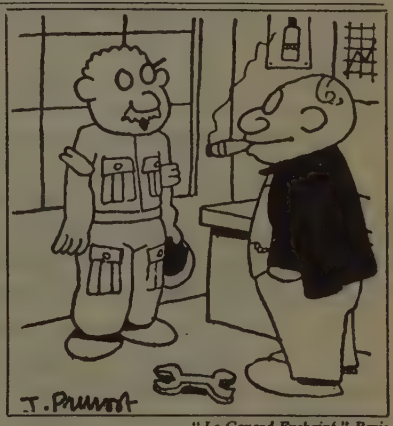
repairs and, of course, communal preparatory work, which would gain much in efficiency if it were known that British Air Squadrons would participate in the great manoeuvres of 1938. And you can be sure that that would have a great effect in Europe. Italy and Germany are still only at the stage of exhibiting their armies to each other in order to evoke mutual admiration.

England, for many reasons, has been able to construct an excellent Air Force rapidly. She is in a position, from now on, to build 250 machines a month. It is natural that we should profit from this state of things, since, for some time to come, we shall still be deficient. On the other hand, division of labour is easy on the sea, and we have a powerful land army, while that of our English friends is non-existent ; it is even a long way from being the " miserable little army " that debarked in 1914. Our army covers England as well as France. The rest goes without saying.

The rest is the industrial " pool," the common use of resources and armaments. And the Press has launched a splendid idea which must be adhered to, that of the creation in Canada, i.e. out of range of all bombardment, of a great war industry, which would act as a common reserve for both countries in the event of a European conflict. Given the control of the ocean, the idea is attractive and would be effective. Which, of course, does not exempt us from making our own

"Arizona Republic"

TWO SIDES TO UNCLE SAM
The pacifist and the armament exporter



" Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

NATIONAL DEFENCE
" We must each do our bit : you work 45 hours and I will lunch with Mr. Hore-Belisha "

efforts in France to assure our immediate re-inforcement and perhaps of considering the establishment of another, less distant, industrial reserve in Morocco.

Grumblers will say that this combination of forces means subordinating French policy to that of Great Britain. The reverse is also true, as in all associations where both sides contribute equally. Anyhow, without vain boasting, but incontestably, these agreements will have dealt the blow that calls a halt to the German menace.

TO THE LAST FRENCHMAN

From " Le Canard Enchainé " (French satirical weekly), 20.4.38

THIS project of a Franco–British alliance which there has been so much talk about, rouses on one side or the other of the Channel —especially on the other—an enthusiasm which may be described here and now as of good standard quality.

The two countries will have but one single army, the French Army, just as they have had but one foreign policy, that of Whitehall.

The first wish of the thousands of English people who spent the Easter holidays in France was to admire from close at hand the magnificent deportment and fine condition of what in touching terms they are already calling " our army."

Some of these tourists had hardly debarked at Boulogne when they caught sight of a fireman. Thinking he was a soldier they immediately wrote home : " All our *poalus* have nice brass helmets with chin straps of the same metal. They are *splendididious* ! "

But it was at the heart of things, on the very frontier of Great Britain, which, as Mr. Baldwin so rightly said is on the Rhine, that they wanted to see their gallant troops. And that is why so many English people, these last few days, have defiled along the whole length of the Maginot Line.

Of course, they went into ecstasies over the comfortable arrangement of the pill-boxes, the thickness of the concrete walls, the cleanliness of the tripe and the quality of the soup. But what they were most taken with was how well the soldiers looked.

Young " Misses " never stopped taking their photographs, school boys in multi-coloured caps asked them for their autographs, " res-

pectable ladies " asked permission to be their god-mothers, " correct gentlemen " promised them, if the worst came to the worst, that they would see it through to the end.

" Courage ! " they told them (in English) " we're cheering for you."

All these nice people went home again more confident than ever in the destiny of their country which has been able to forge itself such a free, strong and happy army without even having to resort to conscription.

The latest news is that Mr. Neville Chamberlain is going to propose in the House of Commons that military service in France be extended to three years.

THE REACTIONARY

Russian Eyes on British Workers

From D.Z.Z., Moscow, 12.4.38

THE Chamberlain Government has only been in power about a year but has done more than any other previous bourgeois Government to expose the aim of British policy—a direct agree-

IN THE GREAT ANGLO-FRENCH ARMY

(An anticipation)

" Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

ment with the fascist bloc. The reactionary foreign policy of Chamberlain's Cabinet is linked with its reactionary aims in the field of internal politics.

Who is Chamberlain himself, whom monopoly capital placed at the head of the Government? The choice did not fall accidentally on him. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chamberlain carried out an openly reactionary policy as regards the social services. The most bare-faced reduction of wages, of all expenditure by municipalities and the execution of " measures for saving money " at the expense of the workers are associated with his name. Chamberlain it was who composed the ill-famed dictum : " The first necessity to-day is the reduction of national expenditure," that is to say, reduction of wages. The working classes of England have so far not been able to achieve complete restitution of the " cuts of 1931."

Friend of Fascism

As regards foreign policy Chamberlain, especially in the last few years, has not concealed his contempt for the League of Nations and his sympathy for the fascist states. His conception of foreign policy comes to this ; protection of British capital invested in the Empire and in foreign states ; " mutual friendly relations " with the fascist states and practical help for them in so far as they form, in Chamberlain's opinion, a reserve for the ruling classes in England itself ; rejection of any liability for co-operation with the peace-loving powers ; increased reaction inside England. Since Chamberlain came to power this programme has been logically and obstinately carried out. In the House of Commons he looks for support to the most reactionary groups in the whole bourgeois camp.

When many British liberal publicists, sincerely indignant at this policy, expose Chamberlain's " treachery," they are forgetting that monopoly capital represents " reaction along the whole line . . ." Monopoly capital means internal political reaction, greatly intensified by the striving of England's ruling classes to keep the masses, and in particular the oppressed colonial peoples, in dependence at any cost. Monopoly capital means foreign political reaction, to which the increasing internal and external conflicts of British imperialism gives expression. The English reactionary bourgeoisie has made its choice between the only two alternatives possible under present

circumstances : alliance with the peace-loving peoples against the fascist aggressors, or agreement with the fascist bloc, against the peace-loving peoples, against the U.S.S.R., Spain, China and the bourgeois-democratic countries of Europe. The British bourgeoisie regard every proposal for participation in common defence against the fascist war-makers as treachery to their class.

This finds its expression in the intrigues of the leader of the British bourgeoisie against the Popular Front in France. The magnates of English finance, whose representative Neville Chamberlain is, are endeavouring in alliance with French reaction to destroy the Popular Front and to bring to power there a government which would follow London's instructions in everything. In particular Chamberlain is trying to secure the creation of a reactionary Government in France which would obediently join in a " Four Power Pact " and would refuse help to its allies in south-east Europe.

Governing circles in Great Britain realise, of course, that they are playing a risky game. They are making agreements with fascist states which are by no means renouncing their plans to increase their power at the cost of the British Empire—at the cost of this concentration of gigantic riches, collected by many centuries of robbery. It cannot be said either that governing circles in Great Britain are not aware how deep the cleavage between England and Germany, England and Italy, England and Japan, is. In each repre-

THE AXIS

"Go on, sit down . . . since he tells you it isn't solid . . . "

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

sentative of these circles, " two souls," so to speak, exist. This double identity was well expressed by Sir Stuart Sandmen (*sic*) in a speech in the House of Commons when he declared that he was on the one hand " personally glad about Japan's bold move to re-establish order," but on the other hand, he confessed, he " hated Japan when it was a matter of cotton goods."

At the same time British imperialism, in fear of the threatening consequences of its own policy, is continually increasing the feverish pace of its gigantic rearmament. Every event, in particular every new move of the aggressors (proceeding with the help and knowledge or blessing of British monopoly capital) is used by Chamberlain's Cabinet to increase the arms race. When one considers that it is British policy above all which is to blame for the appearance of more and ever more seats of war, which is responsible for the letting off of the aggressors, for the sacrifices made by the peoples of China, Spain, Abyssinia and Austria, it is clear that Chamberlain is preparing to send forth his new dreadnoughts into the sea of blood which will be shed in Europe and Asia by Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese Samurai.

Measures to Suppress the Workers

The British bourgeoisie is apparently of the opinion that they will not succeed in carrying out their plans without intensified reaction internally. The Government is trying at all costs to avert the workers' struggle from becoming active. A number of measures have been taken in this direction. The army programme itself has a fairly important internal political significance, in so far as it strengthens the apparatus for suppression. In connection with war preparations, the Chamberlain Cabinet has prepared a plan for the introduction of compulsory labour service in those branches of industry in which the most active groups in the English working classes are occupied. Chamberlain declared on March 23rd in the House of Commons that the Government was working out the project for compulsory labour service as a preliminary measure to the introduction of compulsory military service. What does compulsory labour service mean unless a direct offensive against the democratic rights of the English working-class, particularly against the right to strike?

It is not surprising that the policy of Chamberlain's Cabinet is

beginning to meet with the opposition of the workers. If it were not for the cowardly attitude of the Trades Union leaders, and of the Labour Party, which give way to the Government and in practice play into its hands, there is no doubt that a very complicated situation for Chamberlain would be created. Only a mobilisation of the masses and above all a combination of forces by the working classes and all anti-fascist elements can impede the execution of the present British Cabinet's reactionary aims and save peace in Europe and so universal peace. Here is in part the key to the whole international situation.

AXIS AND ENTENTE
How Can They Be Joined?

by DR. KARL SILEX (*Editor*)

From the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," Berlin, 3.5.38

THE two great western powers, France and England, have extended their partnership, and their military co-operation even in peace time gives their relationship the character of a military alliance. Both countries claim for themselves a community of outlook such as Germany and Italy possess. So it is that the chassis of the European car consists to-day of axle (axis)* and Entente. On one axle only, no car can run—unless it were a trailer. The joining up of both axles (axes) has so far remained problematical—for, while a pact has been concluded between England and Italy, both countries made the step towards *rapprochement* with the feet on which they stand overseas. But the continental question, in which neither Italy nor England is uninterested, is characterised precisely by the fact that Germany, after the loss of her colonies, is the only one of the four great powers which stands with both feet on the continent. France, too, most emphatically has one foot in North Africa.

Germany occupies this special position quite naturally on account of her situation in central Europe, while her expulsion from overseas must be debited to the account of others—of England particularly.

After the scenes which have been played for our benefit in London, they will have to realise over there that we shall be still more

* *"Achse", the German word, means both axle and axis.*

conscious of the German–Italian community of outlook than we already are. We have taken nothing away either from the French or the English. We do not threaten them, and they owe us an explanation of why " it is of the highest importance under the present circumstances " to strengthen their common defences. They themselves have herewith created new present circumstances which can be ignored by nobody ; precisely on their account the well-forged axis, Berlin–Rome, is for us the guarantee of central European peace.

The Ties With Moscow

Through the adhesion of Italy to the Anti-Comintern Pact, our common ideological basis has been strengthened in that point, the European significance of which the Entente still does not want to admit. They have talked themselves hoarse in London about Czechoslovakia, would like to make out of that country, according to requirements, either a second Belgium or a crystallisation point for a total solution of all European problems. But both European ties with Moscow remain untouched. So long as this is the case the European question, " Axis and Entente," must remain open.

THE FACTS ACCUSE

At both stations in Niedergrund, in Northern Bohemia, all the officials are of Czech nationality, although the district is purely German. In the Niedergrund Post Office and Municipal Finance Office also there are none but Czech employees. In place of the Czech policeman moved to Haida a few months ago, another Czech has come—the sixth Czech policeman there. In Nixdorf, a purely German town, there is not a single German policeman.—*Typical item appearing under the heading above, in " Die Zeit," organ of the Sudeten Germans.*

THAT WOULD NEVER DO

Lord Rothermere, newly arrived from London, severely criticised the American press for publishing " war talk." Said he : " It spreads all over Europe and is doing harm."

We should really be more careful. The first thing we know, there'll be a war in Spain, and Germany may annex Austria. Italy may invade Ethiopia, Japan may attack China and the nations of Europe may even begin to arm.—" *Pittsburg Press,*" *U.S.A.*

APPENDICITIS

" Europe's Appendix," Czechoslovakia has been called. But Europe is so old, so hopelessly old, that it would not survive an operation.—" *Haagsche Post,*" *The Hague.*

WHO DRIVES
THE CHARIOT?

As America
sees it. —

*"St. Louis
Post-Dispatch"*

——and a French
version

"Marianne, Paris"

HUNGARY AND THE JEWS

From " L'Europe Centrale," Prague, 30.4.38

WITH the Reich installed in Vienna, Hungary, more than ever, constitutes Germany's gateway to the East ; hence the very understandable Nazi " solicitude " for everything Hungarian. Nevertheless, a door must be open or shut, and that is the cause of deep differences of opinion in Hungary. The real country, always traditional and true to the ideas of Kossuth, and whose opinion of Germany may be summed up in the expression " *hunczut a német* " (Germany is a good-for-nothing), demands that it should be closed, locked even, and that Budapest should stretch out her hand to the countries of the Little Entente to strengthen the bolt. " Since the monarchy can no longer be resuscitated," a great liberal Hungarian newspaper said the other day, " the only solution that presents itself for carrying on her ancient mission, is to re-unite all the Danubian and Balkan states in a Confederation solid enough to bar the way to Germany and frustrate her attempts towards world domination. It is generally thought, this side of the barrier, that the common danger will bring about the union, relegating the question of race into the background."

Though some people say this is Utopian, logic is on its side. The most important thing is to realise this plan before Germany succeeds in creating the *Mitteleuropa* that she wants.

Let us pass to the other side of the barrier. In his recent statement on this burning subject, Count Bethlen (former Prime Minister of Hungary), in order to calm apprehensive public opinion, said : " It would obviously be easier for us if we rejoined the Little Entente ; we would secure much more agreeable conditions of life. We could have sold our birthright for a mess of pottage and participated in the formation of a great power, hostile to Germany, in the south-east. We did not do so, though there were numerous partisans of this policy among us . . . because we are a proud nation who jealously guard the maintenance of our independence . . . and by this fact we have rendered inestimable service to Germany and shall continue to render her this service, because this path is the best that is open to

us. But any attempt that may be made to confuse the vital principles of the two nations will have results fatal to their collaboration. . . ."

There, in a few words, is the official policy ; " Made in Germany," as M. Rassy said, during the course of the violent debates which go on, in Parliament and in the country, on the subject of the anti-Jewish law. All the opposition speakers, all the liberal newspapers, are unanimous in stating that this policy, while pretending to maintain independence, is making Hungary more and more dependent, by the introduction of institutions, laws and measures contrary to the Magyar spirit. This is so true, that all the " totalitarians," all the Hungarian imitators of the German Racialists, cry " Shame ! " when people refuse to believe them to be the original inventors of these bad copies. In general, even in Germanophile circles, it is feared that the Jewish law may be transformed into the touchstone of friendship between Germany and Hungary, and thus exceed its purpose. Only one question remains obscure amidst these polemics : " What will be the price of so many services rendered to the German wolf? "

The Jews are very greatly mixed with the Magyar population, and, consequently, very dangerous in their wrath.

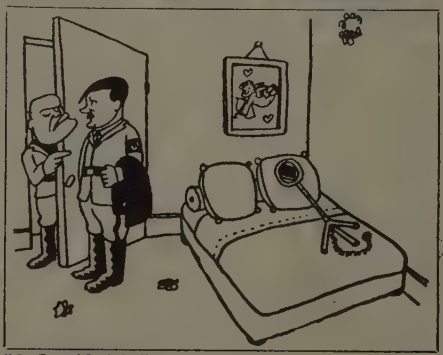
" They will attack," the *Magyar Hirlap* wrote the other day, " and the reaction of the Hungarian people to this law will be punishment of its initiators." This reaction may have consequences in foreign policy that are still unpredictable. It appears in the second annex of the Report of the Hungarian Delegation to the Peace Congress in 1919 that " the Jews are an integral element in the Hungarian nation and are perfectly assimilated into it," and that " if the number of Jews (in old Hungary) exceeds a million from the racial point of view, they only represent a confessional difference from the anthropological point of view." Wealth, capital, a large part of landed property, industry, factories belong to them in the ratio of seven to ten. If the anti-Jewish law is passed, it will be paid for dearly, if it is not passed it will cost even more ; it will, very probably, bring about a complete reversal of the country's foreign policy in either case, since the time is almost at hand, and the Jewish element in Hungary represents the intellectual element *par excellence*.

HERR HITLER IN ROME

The Ghost of Murdered Austria at the Feast

Doeve,
"Haagsche Post,"
The Hague

The Anti-Marx Brothers play a soothing lullaby



"Le Canard Enchaîné" Paris

"Good night ! By the way, you see . . . we have thought of everything !"

EIRE AND BRITAIN

ACT OF FAITH

From the "Irish Times," Dublin, 28.4.38

The Anglo–Irish Agreement, many think, deserves to go down to history on account of the new spirit of generosity and trust shown by the more powerful of the two bargainers. Will it point the way to others? Here a newspaper which usually takes the British point of view sums up what has been done

GREAT BRITAIN seven years ago was in a parlous position. She was tottering off the gold standard, and her international prestige probably was at a lower ebb than it had been at any period since the Boer War. This year everything had changed. British prestige had risen again. Mr. Neville Chamberlain's rearmament programme had proved to the world that John Bull still was a force to be reckoned with; and when the Irish delegation arrived in London His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom was in a stronger position than it had occupied for many years. In spite of this fact—or, possibly, on account of it—Mr. de Valera and his colleagues contrived to make a pact with Great Britain which has been acclaimed throughout the civilised world as a triumph for Irish and British statesmanship. They have secured the Treaty ports without any sort of condition whatsoever. They have been able to persuade the British Government to compound a debt of nearly £100,000,000 for a tithe of that sum. They have made an admirable arrangement in regard to Anglo–Irish trade; and, above all, they have re-established Anglo–Irish relations on a basis of mutual regard and friendship. Both sides have shown the qualities of real statesmanship in the negotiation of this bargain. The British have been sufficiently wise to realise that an act of faith in the new Ireland is worth while. They have acted generously, taking the long, rather than the short, view, and history will prove that they were right. . . . All Ireland—in fact, the whole British Commonwealth—was astonished when it was announced that the ports had been restored to full Irish sovereignty. Great Britain had every right to keep them; yet Mr. de Valera was able to secure their return without conditions

of any kind. In these circumstances Mr. Norton (leader of the Labour Party) wants to know whether there have been any reservations, " even mental reservations," in the Irish delegation's acceptance of the ports. Has the Irish Government the right to dismantle and abandon the fortifications that have been handed over by the British ? It would be difficult to imagine a more contemptible question.

DEFIANT ULSTER

From the " Belfast Telegraph," 28.4.38

All is not yet peace and harmony in Eire, while the question of partition remains open. Czechoslovakia can show Germans who dislike being governed by Czechs ; Eire goes well beyond this, with Irishmen who detest the idea of being governed by Irishmen. How adamant Ulster remains is shown by the following typical expression of opinions

IF Eire is still to be considered a Dominion, it has the unenviable distinction of being the only one where no Oath of Allegiance is taken to the King by public officials and members of Parliament, and where the head of the Government declares his unaltered ambition to have the country made a " completely independent sovereign State." The policy of the party now in power in Eire is evidently to " make the best of both worlds." The tinsel ornaments of a petty Republic will be worn with childish pride, while, at the same time, the advantages gained by free access to the valuable markets of the sister island will be exploited to the full, in equality with other Dominions, and in case of war the protection of Britain's Navy, Army and Air Force will be relied upon. An arrangement which permits such conditions to exist is of an entirely one-sided nature. Scarcely any Government in any part of the world would act with such generosity as has been displayed by that at Westminster, which has shown itself ready to forget the crime-stained record of the movement in which Mr. de Valera was a leading spirit and to extend the hand of friendship to the former avowed enemies of Britain. . . . We in Northern Ireland are justified in looking towards future developments in Eire with considerable suspicion. One thing at least is certain, the " Constitution " of which Mr. de Valera and his supporters are so proud

has no attraction for us. We want no President to rule over us. Our allegiance is due to the King alone, and we are not tempted to replace the Union Jack by the sombre Tricolour. One benefit resulting from recent events is that we can now see clearly the fate which awaits us if we should enter into union with Eire.

SPIRIT OF HATRED STILL
A Free Hand for De Valera?

From the "Northern Whig," Belfast, 30.4.38

IT would be merely imitating the ostrich to ignore the existence in Southern Ireland of a deliberately maintained spirit of antagonism towards the Protestant and loyalist North. Politicians do their best to hide it beneath the cloak of fraternal professions. . . Mr. De Valera himself has been compelled by the pressure of facts to acknowledge the futility of a policy of force against the North. Nevertheless he would welcome political and economic pressure as a means of overcoming Ulster's resistance if he could persuade the British Government to apply it.

For the moment he may well be content with the fruits of victory he has gathered in the form of three inter-connected agreements with Britain. The unconditional surrender of the Treaty ports by the British Government and the wiping out of Southern Ireland's indebtedness for a paltry ten millions would stamp him as a negotiator of the first water were it not known that the British representatives, weary of the whole controversy, were ready to make almost any concession to get a settlement signed and sealed. Next time Mr. De Valera (or his successor in office) goes to London for conversations on "outstanding differences" he will hope to find the British Government equally eager to be rid of the "Partition" question—so eager that it will be ready to sacrifice Ulster for the sake of "appeasement." It is significant that Northern Nationalists and Republicans are already busy with anti-Partition propaganda based on the claim that the abolition of Ulster's autonomy within the United Kingdom

and the transfer of the area to the Dublin Government would be the logical sequel to the signing of the Anglo-Eire agreements. If the Treaty ports can be relinquished without a single safeguarding condition, notwithstanding their strategic value to Britain in a time of crisis, it would seem that " with but little persuasion " a future British Cabinet would agree to facilitate the handing over of Ulster in the sacred cause of " Anglo-Irish friendship." It would be a sorry day for British policy if the principle of " a free hand for Mussolini in Abyssinia and for Hitler in Austria " were adapted to " a free hand for De Valera in Ulster."

EASTER, 1916
The Story of German Aid

From articles by Willem Jaspert, in " Geist der Zeit," Berlin

1916—The Irish rebels turn to Germany for help in the Easter rising. 1938—England voluntarily hands back the strategic Treaty Ports to Eire. How times have changed is well illustrated by this inner history of German participation in the rebellion

IN January, 1916, the English Government was obliged to decide on the introduction of a conscription Act. At once the question arose as to what was to happen with the inhabitants of Ireland. It was dangerous to instruct these sworn foes of England in the handling of weapons, and to press arms into their hands. Were the men of military age to be left in Ireland, however, the danger would be hardly less. This was recognised by the Irish leaders as well as by the English Government, and the cry was raised in the various daily newspapers, " Let us not wait too long."

Day after day processions marched through the towns and villages ; the participants were easily recognisable in their green uniforms ; many were armed with rifles. Violent incidents occurred, such as the storming of the General Post Office in Dublin, and on St. Patrick's Day parades of volunteers were held in every town in the country.

In the meantime the suppression of the Press continued ; the censorship worked day and night ; weapons were confiscated ; retaliatory action was taken, the courts held uninterrupted session and passed sentences of exile. Hundreds of Irishmen were condemned to prison, and protest demonstrations assumed ever greater dimensions.

The English Government took two chief measures for its support—in the first place, the creation of the Royal Irish Constabulary (R.I.C.), a special police force which was distributed over the whole country and formed at the same time a kind of secret service, keeping the English authorities informed regarding the progress of preparations for the rising which was feared, the weapons of the volunteer army, the sentiment of the people, and the names of their leaders. In addition there was a garrison of over 5,000 men in Dublin itself, which could be increased to many times that number by regular soldiers from England within a few hours, should the alarm be given.

The English Government relied upon the volunteers being insufficiently armed. According to a police report which reached London at the end of March, the volunteers only had 900 rifles, while the total of their weapons was given as 4,466.

The Moment for Action

The spy system worked excellently. Most of the secret orders were known to the English Government, at the same time as they were received by the rebel leaders. The future of the Irish freedom movement was at stake. The ready pens of Irish leaders were constantly at work, writing poems, exhortations, articles, in order to keep the population's enthusiasm for the idea of freedom ever fresh. Prohibitions and censorship were of no avail, and the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (I.R.B.) was no longer able to withstand the people's mood. It decided that the moment for action had come, and fixed Easter Sunday, April 22nd, 1916, as the day for the rising. Every precaution was taken to prevent this decision from being prematurely discovered by any spy system, however well functioning. Only those leaders knew the date who had collaborated on this great work for many years.

On the other hand, a special message was sent to the leader of the Irish-American Union, the American Clan Na Gael, to obtain

their counsel and support in the most urgent problem—that of arms. The secret message to their leader Devoy, ran as follows :

> " It is our unanimous opinion that we cannot wait any longer. Any postponement would have fatal consequences. Our enemies leave us no time. The Irish regiments, which sympathise with us, are being gradually replaced by English ones. We have, therefore, fixed the beginning of the rising for Easter Saturday. Unless unforeseen circumstances arise, we must have your consignments of arms in Limerick between Good Friday and Saturday."

This message was read next day at a secret meeting at the Irish Club in Philadelphia. The conclusion was reached that, owing to the German U-boat blockade, it was practically out of the question to send arms from the United States to Ireland. The sole solution, it was recognised, was to ask the German military authorities to supply the republican leaders with the required number of weapons and munitions. The resolution was carried unanimously. The reply received from Germany read as follows :

> " Between the 20th and 23rd April, in the evening, two or three German ships can land 20,000 rifles and 10 machine guns with corresponding munitions and explosives at the Fenit Pier in Tralee Bay. It is necessary that Irish pilot ships await the transport steamers when dark falls at the northern side of the island of Inishtooskeert at the entrance to Tralee Bay, and light two green flares at short intervals. You must cable immediately whether these steps can be taken in Ireland, only in this event can certain execution be guaranteed."

The Irish leaders were informed, and agreed to the proposal. Further agreements were reached with Berlin *via* America. In Ireland itself everything was prepared as far as possible. Time was going on, and it was necessary to initiate others, particularly officer circles, into the plan. Thomas MacDonagh's adjutant, by name Eamon de Valera, for the first time took a place in the picture, and was received into the I.R.B. He pledged his oath to follow the orders of the I.R.B. in the same way as he had up to that date as an officer of the Volunteer Army. De Valera was a sworn enemy of secret organisations ; true, he declared himself, as an officer, ready to obey orders, but declined admittance to the I.R.B. So it was that he also was not told the exact date, but only that the Volunteer Army would go into action on some fixed day.

The question of an adequate supply of arms for the army was still open, and this had to be settled first. Nobody seemed to be more suited for the purpose than Sir Roger Casement, on account of his relationships with foreign powers. It was he who immediately after the outbreak of War had written a series of striking articles in the Irish newspapers on the relationship between England and Germany. Germany must win, he had declared, in order that Ireland might become an independent land in the European comity of nations. A great deal of guessing had gone on as to who the author of these articles might be, and the motto : " England's Downfall is Ireland's Luck " was for a long time on everyone's lips. If, nevertheless, the Irish felt none too friendly towards Germany in the period that followed, it was because they had more sympathy and older, better recognised connections with France, because Irishmen realised that English and Germans were really blood relations, and because the majority belonged to Catholic and nationalist circles. The invasion of Belgium by German troops played its part.

Casement's Activities

In September, 1914, Casement had gone to New York to conduct propaganda for his view that success for Ireland was only to be achieved with American help. Sir Roger Casement, like de Valera, was not a member of the I. R. B. The organisation regarded his departure for New York with disfavour, but, as he had an international reputation as negotiator, and as a man who could never be bribed, he left, if not on behalf of the I.R.B., at least by agreement with it. In America he immediately got in touch with Irish circles and composed a memorandum which he sent, with the signatures of all Irish leaders in America appended, to Kaiser Wilhelm II. He left on a Norwegian sailing ship *via* Norway, in October, 1914.

Casement's aim was threefold. First of all, he intended to collect all the Irishmen among the prisoners of war in Germany, to form an irregular army with them and then make contact with the Irish Volunteer Army. For the rest he wanted to achieve a free and independent Ireland, and strove for friendly relations between the two States. His third object was to secure a supply of arms.

One thing he rejected on principle was any kind of money collection on behalf of the new Irish Free State. Offers of this kind,

which were made to him from many quarters, were always refused, often almost savagely. He found important support in the American Consul in Munich, John Gaffney ; and, only a month later, he registered an extraordinary success for himself and the Irish cause. On November 20th, the news appeared in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* that Germany recognised an independent Ireland, and would have friendly relations with the new State.

For England there was much at stake. She badly needed a new reason for bringing Ireland on her side, above all for obtaining fresh troops from that country for her Army. Then came, on October 7th, 1915, the sinking of the *Lusitania.* The whole world was moved to attention by the extraordinarily clever propaganda ; but soon the first voices made themselves heard, of those who knew that munitions had been carried by the ship. A manifesto was at once distributed throughout Ireland which brought the truth to light, and the leader of the Sinn Fein movement, Arthur Griffith, spoke strongly in public of the cunning game played by a State which brought peaceful passengers into danger and death. He declared himself against any conscription in Ireland.

How to Get Arms ?

The first and second points on Casement's programme were achieved. The third—the supply of arms—was still in question. At the outset he had believed that he could bring Germany to send a big military expedition, under the leadership of German officers, with U-boats and armed with at least 200,000 rifles and some hundred machine guns. This was categorically rejected by Germany. The information that 20,000 rifles and ten machine guns, with corresponding munitions, would be shipped to Ireland, depressed him very much. He was almost in despair at the Clan Na Gael's having accepted this modest proposal, and had to admit to himself that the enterprise was doomed from then on to failure unless a miracle were to happen.

Casement, himself, got into an awkward position just because of his strict refusal to accept money, and was regarded on many sides in Germany as a romantic idealist. He had even been partly passed over ; negotiations were conducted direct with the American Irish leader, John Devoy. That hurt Casement, but the Americans, and

now the Irish in Ireland, continued to trust him as before, and in the beginning of April he received a secret communication *via* Switzerland, which read as follows :

" 1. The rising is fixed for the evening of next Easter Sunday.
2. The consignment of arms must arrive in Tralee Bay at the latest by sunset on Easter Saturday.
3. German officers are under all circumstances required for the Irish Volunteer troops.
4. A German submarine must lie in Dublin harbour. Time is short ; it must be short, we must act. There is danger in delay."

Immediately Casement replied, by the same secret route, that German officers were not at their disposal, and neither was a German submarine. This news was never received in Ireland. Casement was disappointed. He had hoped for more active support from the German Government, especially from the Army leaders. He felt he had been deceived, in contrast to the men in America and Ireland who were organising the rising. In a letter of Devoy's, the leader of the American Irish says : " It is not true that the Germans have treated us badly. They have done everything that we have asked them to do and more."

On his own initiative, and in a kind of nervous irritation, Casement made new plans. Instead of the two specified ships he decided to despatch only one, with a consignment of arms. The German Government placed the *Aud* at his disposal, and the required number of weapons and munitions were despatched. But even when they left Casement did not believe in a successful outcome of the enterprise ; he held the view that the ship could never break through the English blockade.

As he could not reckon with the courier's reaching Ireland in time, he became still more indecisive ; he trusted neither the Germans nor his Irish comrades. He was only fanatically obsessed with the idea of leading the rising to success, and acted in accordance with the dictates of his conscience.

Not from cowardice—no, from the very opposite motive, in order to convince his fellow-countrymen of the truth of his aims by means of a sacrifice which he had in mind to make and so spur them to unwavering struggle, he did not accompany the *Aud*, but left on a German submarine for Ireland.

Under the command of Captain Karl Spindler, the *Aud* left Luebeck with 21 officers and the crew on the afternoon of April 9th. The German Government fell in with Casement's wish for a submarine, chiefly because he declared he would himself organise the Irish revolt on the spot, and because he made it urgently clear that his presence was absolutely essential should the military leaders among the Irish volunteers fail. The submarine left Kiel on the April 12th, with the command to meet the *Aud* in Tralee Bay on Good Friday. In his exaggerated anxiety Casement had decided that the munitions ship must arrive in Ireland two or three days before Easter.

The *Aud* sailed under the Norwegian flag ; the entire crew and all officers were disguised as Norwegians. Everything was prepared down to the last detail. In the men's cupboards letters and photographs of Norwegian girls were placed. Timber was declared as the ship's freight, and was in fact on board—over the munitions.

How the End Came

Unfortunately, one thing was lacking—a wireless apparatus. The *Aud* sailed round Scotland, ran into a storm such as Captain Spindler had never met in the whole of his previous career at sea, and escaped by a miracle all the English patrols. The Irish coast was sighted, the timber was thrown overboard, and on the evening of the Thursday before Easter the ship reached Tralee Bay. It was four o'clock. The Captain was proud of having executed his orders on the first specified day.

But no pilot boat was there to meet him, no signal from the coast, no one.

What had happened? Easter Sunday had been fixed originally as the day of the rising. But on Easter Monday the race meeting was to be held and the Irish leaders had allowed themselves to be convinced that most of the English officers from the Dublin garrison would be out of town for the event. On the other hand, they were extremely worried whether the plan for smuggling weapons could be carried out at all; it had been ascertained that there was a full moon on the Easter Sunday, which would make the landing of the arms in secret all the more difficult. At a stormy session it was finally decided to

alter the date. A courier was sent to the United States and the following cable was despatched to Berlin:

> "Arms must not be landed before Easter Sunday night 23rd. Highly important. Smuggle impossible"

Now the *Aud* had in the meantime sailed. Captain Spindler learnt nothing of the changed plans. But the British Government did. On April 18th, the house of an attaché at the German Embassy in Washington was searched by the American Secret Police and, among a number of important military secret documents, a copy of the cable was found, together with the decoding key. . . .

"It was the greatest disappointment of my life," wrote Captain Spindler later in his memoirs. "No pilot boat came, no signal from the coast, no sign that we were expected. I had received orders, if I could not make contact with the Irish, to return at once to Germany, or to do what I thought best. Our trip had gone so extremely well that I would have been ashamed if I had turned back, so I decided to stay as long as possible, because I presumed there had been some misunderstanding. A short time before, as I ran into the Bay, I believed the Irish were waiting until it was completely dark. Then, when darkness came, I gave the agreed signals with the green lanterns, but got no answering signal, either on sea or from the coast. Morning came. A wonderful, clear Good Friday."

No one came—only an English patrol boat, whose captain climbed on board and after a short inspection, funny though it sounds, left the ship without the slightest suspicion. Towards mid-day, a second gunboat came and signalled, without Captain Spindler being able to make out quite what it was about. A short while later, 29 English warships appeared, at 6.30 p.m. The *Aud* was completely surrounded, the cruiser *Bluebell* commanded Captain Spindler to follow to Queenstown, and at the same time fired a shot across his bows. The Captain obeyed, sailed to Queenstown, was debarked, and a few minutes later the munitions ship went up in the air at the command of the English admiral.

AN IDEA HE MISSED

Why didn't Mussolini think of holding a plebiscite in Abyssinia? Then the League would have had no objections.—*Nebelspalter, Rohrschach.*

World Review

CENTRE OF THE FAR-EASTERN STRUGGLE

THE FAR-EASTERN WAR

CHINA'S RED ARMY FIGHTS ON

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

From "New Masses," New York, 19.4.38

How much solid success does news of a Japanese advance indicate? This first-hand report, one of the few to come out of North China, gives an interesting picture of conditions in a supposedly conquered area. It is naturally partisan, being written by a well-known American Communist, who has lived in and worked for Russia for many years

THE Chinese Eighth Route Army, now operating in northern Shansi, is important not alone because it is the recognised Red Army and led by Communists, though that fact shows the strength of the new unity which brings together under one banner armies that have fought each other in civil war for the past ten years. It is important also because it is the most efficient army of its size in China, in the opinion of foreign military observers—I have had opinions from American, German and British sources on that. It has, furthermore, certain characteristics which the rest of the Chinese armies are increasingly adopting to achieve victory in the struggle against Japan. . . .

Chu Teh, of Red Army fame, now commander of the Eighth Route forces, told me that he takes his orders from " the government of Chiang Kai-shek and directly from Marshal Yen Hsi-shan. We pride ourselves," he added, " on being the most obedient and disciplined of the government's armies."

What has brought about this attitude on the part of an army which for ten years was hunted by Chiang Kai-shek over all China? The change in the policy of the Central Government as a result of the invasion by a common national enemy, Japan. " Even as long ago as 1931, when the Japanese invaded Manchuria," said Jen, political commissar of the Eighth Route Army, to me, " we offered to make common cause with any Chinese Government or armies that would resist this aggression. Chiang Kai-shek did not believe us; he thought this was mere bluff concealing our desire to overthrow him. We on our part did not believe that Chiang was against Japan; we thought

that he was acting on behalf of Japan and against us. Gradually, however, we saw that Chiang, though he was trying to wipe us out of the way first of all, was really preparing to resist Japan. We saw this not from his words, but from the way he built his roads and railroads. So instead of working for a united front of all anti-Japanese forces against Chiang Kai-shek, we began to desire a united front with Chiang against Japan. Then the Sian incident convinced Chiang also that we did not desire his overthrow, but the uniting of China against Japanese aggression. Since that time co-operation became possible."

Those who through ignorance or malice talk about " soft-pedalling of the class struggle " by the Communists show their lack of understanding of the realities of history. For it is pretty obvious that for China, with any kind of government, to drive out Japanese imperialism would do more for revolutionary progress in China, Japan, and the rest of the Pacific than any other conceivable thing that could happen in the Far East. The only Chinese who oppose this view to-day are the handful of Trotskyites, who proclaim that the most necessary thing is to use the war to foment class struggle in Chinese villages, and that Chiang Kai-shek is the chief enemy, after whose overthrow alone can begin the decade-long, underground fight against Japan. This certainly is a class-struggle tactic—class struggle in the interests of the Japanese militarist-fascist clique.

* * * * *

The country over which the Eighth Route Army operates is an area twice the size of Belgium. All of it is within the district which foreign war-maps usually assign to Japanese occupation, and most of it is actually behind Japanese lines. I have heard some critics assert that Chiang Kai-shek only gave the Eighth Route Army the territory which the Japanese had already taken, and let them take it back. But I heard no such criticism from anyone in that army. They are proud to be out, not only at the extreme front, but even far beyond the front, moving in and out through enemy lines. For nothing in all China has so increased the morale of the Chinese as this demonstration of how thin the lines of occupation really are.

The Japanese hold the main railway points in northern Shansi. Most military maps, therefore, credit them with holding the northern half of Shansi province. If the inhabitants of Shansi province chose

to be submissive, this claim would be a fact. Former imperialist invasions have dominated by holding long, thin lines of railroads, and have used these to exploit the backward hinterlands. But the Shansi population is not submissive; it is organized by the Eighth Route Army, which serves as its fighting arm. Consequently the Japanese are unable to go for more than a mile or two away from the railroad except in temporary armed expeditions. The railroads themselves have been made largely unusable by the Japanese.

The Chinese, meantime, civilians as well as armed forces, travel across these railroad lines almost at will. Sometimes they meet a force of Japanese and engage in battle, but most of the time they merely cross where they choose. There aren't enough Japanese to patrol every mile of railway in sufficient force to resist a surprise attack. The Japanese have tried to prevent crossing the line by compelling Chinese farmers living along the railroad to signal any such crossing, under penalty of having their families wiped out. But this merely leads the Eighth Route Army to cross in lonely places, where they will endanger no Chinese.

In the large rectangle in the north-eastern part of Shansi, surrounded on all sides by four railway lines, where Lin Piao, commander of the 115th Division (one of the three Eighth Route Army Divisions), ranges—or did range until he was recently wounded—a territory the size of Belgium, the incredible fact must be recorded that Governor-General Yen Hsi-shan of Shansi province appointed a special civil governor for that area, and sent him out across the Japanese lines to take office, and that this deputy governor reports more revenue collected from this entirely Japanese-surrounded area than in the days of peace—and squeeze—before the war. . . .

In this whole northern half of Shansi, which military maps allot to the Japanese, they have actually taken only twenty-four counties (*hsien* towns) out of a total of 105 for the province, and twelve of those twenty-four have been taken back. Their situation, in fact, appears a precarious one; it would not seem much of a trick to bottle them up entirely by seizing a few mountain passes, and finish them off at will. The Eighth Route Army, in fact, believes that this can be accomplished whenever the Central Government is able to release airplanes, large guns, and motor units for that purpose. These seem at present to be more needed elsewhere; China hasn't enough of them at best.

CHINESE SOLDIERS LEND A HAND WITH THE HARVEST

Meantime, hardly a day passes without at least minor engagements.... Their military significance lies in their steadily wearing effect on the Japanese, who can never be certain of their lines of communications; and the tremendous stimulus they give to Chinese morale by showing that even in so-called occupied territory, the Chinese may maintain their patriotic government, collect revenues, move to and fro with considerable freedom and fall again and again upon the enemy with success.

Because of the success of these tactics of mobile warfare, it is common in China to think of the Eighth Route Army as essentially guerrilla fighters. Madame Chiang, in fact, so described them to me. The Eighth Route generals, however, reject this description. "We are a regular army, and can also do positional fighting if we have the equipment. But with our present shortage of equipment and in the territory where we are operating, behind the lines of the enemy, mobile warfare is the best. With our present tactics we regularly kill more of the enemy—often very many more—than we lose ourselves. . . ." They did not add, but they might have, that in most Chinese positional warfare to-day, the casualties are four or

five Chinese to every Japanese, due to the great superiority of Japanese equipment. . . .

As military men, the commanders in the Eighth Route Army have a past as competent as any men in China. They have also had ten years' experience in the Red Army. They differ from other generals chiefly in their relation to the common soldiers and to the common people. They are highly democratic, utterly accessible. Any common soldier, any ordinary peasant, can and does speak to them. In fact, you cannot tell them from an ordinary soldier except perhaps by their slightly greater age.

If I were asked for the chief characteristics of the Eighth Route Army which differentiate it from others, I would mention three. First, that they educate every ordinary soldier in what he is fighting for. Every day he attends three classes: military training, cultural training, political training. Cultural training includes reading and writing; they all learn to read. Political training does not consist of difficult Communist theory; it is much simpler than that. For love of country and of a better life for all its people are part of Communism.

Patriots in Arms

I talked to three simple soldier lads, taken at random. All of them had joined the Red Army long ago in the south. They had made the long march of 6,000 miles across China, in the days when the Red Army was harassed by Chiang Kai-shek's troops. Yet when I asked them why they had joined, one answered "For love of country." Another said: "Because when the Japanese took Manchuria, I knew we must either be slaves or fight. I could not read or write then, but I heard this from the students, in mass meetings on Memory Days."

All of them said: "It is much better now." They smiled; there was a warm glow inside their faces. I asked them why it was better, and my city-shrewd interpreter protested: "Of course it is better, for once they were half starved and now they have a steady job as soldiers." "No, ask them," I said.

"It is better," said one of the boys, while the warm glow suffused his face more completely, "because once the government was against us, and now we are all together and China is unified."

The second characteristic of the Eighth Route Army is the comradely feeling between soldiers and commanders. Chu Teh is

revered by his men as Chinese revere a father, not feared as they usually fear a general. More than once this obviously comradely feeling among the men has made soldiers of other armies wish to join them.

Last, and perhaps of all the characteristics the most important, is the relation of the Eighth Route Army with the people. Its soldiers are instructed on a series of homely rules, whose general purport is: leave every village in as good condition as you found it. I visited three villages in which they were encamped and talked in each to some of the peasants. All of them said that the army was a good army, that it caused no trouble in the village, that they would be sorry when it left.

The army's attitude toward the population is not, however, the merely passive one of letting them alone. In every place of call the soldiers hold mass meetings, to explain the war and organise the people. They show the villagers how to set watchmen on the hills, how to hide their food supply from the invaders, how to destroy the roads when the enemy approaches, how to arm themselves and fight back. They organise villagers into stretcher-bearers, teach them to care for the wounded and to spy out the enemy. Through the common people the army has the best espionage system in China. It knows what the Japanese are doing almost before the Japanese know it themselves.

Thousands of Shansi peasants have formed bands of partisan warriors to protect their own villages with the aid of the Eighth Route Army, which gives them leadership and training and finally, perhaps, incorporates the best of them in its own ranks. The ranks of the Eighth Route Army are, however, limited by government-grant of food and uniforms. As a government army, it has no right to ask or receive contributions even of food from the people. The ranks of the peasant partisans are unlimited, save by the capacity of their villages to furnish support. They are fed by the local populations; they are armed by what they can capture from the Japanese.

It was for these peasant partisans that Chu Teh asked me to appeal in England and America, not for the Eighth Route Army itself.

> Our army is a regular army and cannot accept foreign assistance . . . We have our food and uniforms and medical services; if they are insufficient, it is our own government we must ask. But the peasant volunteers are another matter. They

are men whose villages have been burned by the Japanese. They have often no crops; they are hungry. They have no shoes; they fight barefoot in snow; no fur-lined gloves, and their hands freeze so that they cannot hold a rifle. One detachment of such peasant partisans drove back a Japanese night attack on their village, but before the zero night was gone, thirty of them froze hands and feet and most of them lost them.

It is for these armed peasants, these half-armed peasants, that we ask help from sympathetic lands. For we think the mobile bands of North China will help decide the fate of all China. If Japan can make North China her tool and drain its wealth for her war-chest, then she can advance against the rest of China. But even now we are wearing her out here, and making of rich Shansi not a gain but a loss to her. But our peasant partisans need support. They can call on their villages for funds once, twice, three times, but not forever. For the Japanese have been destroying their villages.

Not only for these partisans of the North-west Chu Teh pleaded, but for other peasant volunteers who are arising in other parts of China.

TRUMP CARD FOR PEACE

From "La République," Paris, 11.4.38

THE most difficult part for Japan still lies ahead.

First, the Japanese lines in the North have to be protected against incursions from Mongolia and Kansu, then the Japanese lines on the Blue River have to be protected against the Chinese established between the Blue River and the Yellow River and against those coming up from the South. That is to say, the Japanese forces have to fight along a line 2,500 miles in length, if not more.

We must realise that China proper—the eighteen provinces—contains over 1½ million square miles, more than seven times the area of France, with a population of from 300 to 350 millions. That is the hornet's nest Japan has plunged into. To help to visualise it—China proper without Tibet, Turkestan, the two Mongolias and Manchuria is about the size of continental Europe exclusive of Russia, and has about the same population.

Imagine an army of a few hundred thousand men, a million if you like, trying to conquer our European peninsula, from Lisbon to Riga, from Brest to Constantinople, with this added difficulty, that the defenders would be a human community that has been unified for centuries, with a culture far superior to that of the invaders, whose

national consciousness has been awakened and developing for a quarter of a century.

From all the evidence it appears that the Japanese thought they would get results much more quickly. They thought that after the taking of Peking and Shanghai, or in any case after Nanking, Chiang Kai-shek would collapse. His political opponents would then come into power and make a treaty with Japan, who counted on China's abandoning Manchuria, Inner Mongolia and perhaps Sinkiang, and above all on gaining absolute economic domination over North China, rich in coal, iron, petrol, rice and cotton. Moreover Japan hoped to make all China into a great market for Japanese goods.

It would have been a great thing for Japan. Overnight she would have carved out a veritable colonial empire for herself of 4,300,000 square miles, seven-tenths of the French Empire. She would have become the greatest power in the world.

Cost of New Effort

While we cannot speak of actual Japanese defeats, they have had at least repeated bloody checks with repercussion which will force Japan to make a new military and financial effort.

Can she make this effort?

Militarily speaking, yes, of course. In theory Japan can mobilise 400,000 men in each class, that is to say, millions of men. But these men must be equipped, armed and fed, and it is here that the financial question comes in. It is very serious. In time of peace Japan could only with difficulty and by devoting 40 per cent of her budget to military needs, maintain her armaments at a level close to that of the great powers. And then she had an army of only 400,000 men. To-day she is forced to maintain a force of two or three times that size, under wartime conditions, thus spending five or six times more on her army than she did in peace time.

This effort can be kept up less long now that it is made all the harder by the rise in the cost of living, the relative fall in wages, and the anxiety and discontent of the people.

Already there have been movements which the police have been able to stifle but which no doubt will be repeated. The Japanese population knows now that operations in China are not going well for Japan, that China is arming a little better every day and that

Japan therefore sooner or later cannot do otherwise—unless she decides to make peace very soon—than lose the war.

But how decide on a rapid peace when the Kuomintang is sure of victory, capable of waiting indefinitely and determined that no Chinese province shall be given up, nor the authority of the Chinese government lessened in any way whatsoever?

It is all the more tragic for her that England, the United States and the U.S.S.R. are delighted at the turn of events. Where Soviet Russia is concerned, whose Far Eastern army seems to be excellent and well officered, it may be feared for Japan that sometime from now Russia will seize the occasion to revenge herself for 1905, while aiming at the establishment of a revolutionary regime in Japan. We must not forget that the Russian air force is far superior to the Japanese, that the Russians offer no important target, whereas the Japanese cities are only 500 miles—two-and-a-half-hours' flight—from Vladivostok. Let us not forget, either, that the Russians are said to possess forty submarines in Vladivostok, which, in practice, if they did not isolate the Japanese army, could at least cause terrible losses to convoys.

Japan seems, therefore, to be engaged in an adventure which can only end in defeat. This would only be of local interest if Japan were not one of the three totalitarian states more or less in alliance with Germany and Italy.

The check to Japan in China is—like the Italian difficulties in Ethiopia and German ambitions on the Danube—very much in the interests of England, the United States and France. The United States sees her most formidable enemy slowly using herself up in the immensities of China, and, like England, is more capable if reassured in the Pacific of taking an interest in Atlantic affairs and even in those of Europe. England, well supported by Singapore, is no longer afraid for India, Australia or even Hong Kong. The diplomatic situation of Germany is becoming less good every day, and would be even worse if we were strong and were willing also to come to an agreement with Italy.

The repulse of Japan in China is, therefore, a trump card in favour of the maintenance of European peace. It would be wrong to underestimate it.

IN REMOTEST ASIA

Strange Story of the Lama's Body

From the Tibetan Correspondent of the "North China Herald," Shanghai

The reincarnated Spiritual Head of the Forbidden Land of Tibet, the Panchen Lama, died some months ago, exiled in China. His soul, according to Tibetan belief, has entered the body of a child, who must now be discovered by a secret process of divination, and who will be his successor. In the meantime, a fierce dispute rages over the body of the dead ruler, as a weird procession winds across Central Asia

AFTER the death of the Panchen Lama at Jyekundo (in the remotest west of China) his lama following seem to have taken control of affairs. It appears that some of his own relatives were on hand and they apparently assumed control of the body. There seems, however, to have been some difference of opinion between the relatives of the Panchen and some of his high lamas. What was to be done with this precious body and what was its future and final destination? Naturally the lamas in the retinue considered Lhasa the final authority and appealed there.

The Chinese part of the following regarded Nanking as the final authority and so awaited word from there. Unfortunately Nanking was otherwise engaged and so the proceedings fell between two stools. Meantime another serious difference of opinion occurred regarding the embalming. What process should be followed? The Tibetans know something about embalming but whether such persons were on hand when the Panchen died is not known.

In the Chinese retinue there was a foreign-trained doctor, a graduate of an American university. Whether he was allowed a free hand or not is unknown. Some weeks after the death of the Panchen a special runner came to Tachienlu in search of the different ingredients for embalming. They were informed, however, that by the time they reached the procession carrying the body, it would be too late. So it was left at that.

Reports coming to hand say the body was not embalmed when the procession decided to start out for Kanze. Still retaining a sitting posture it was merely wrapped up in cloth and the weird procession

started across central Asia in the direction of Kanze (near the Chinese–Tibetan frontier).

Central Asia has witnessed many strange and interesting religious processions, and among them this was probably the most remarkable. The arms and legs and body were tightly wrapped up in cloth giving the body a somewhat mummified appearance. The caravan, with the precious bundle, moved very slowly, covering less than ten miles each day.

When a lamasery or a nomadic encampment was reached the body was carefully put inside some small building and before it hundreds of yak butter lamps were lit. Naturally a small room soon became unbearably hot and stuffy and in the course of time this affected the body. No matter what ultimate state the body reached, Lamaism had certain obligations to fulfil, and the burning of hundreds of butter lamps was one of them.

Chinese Prefer Kanze

Long before the Panchen's body reached Kanze it was evident to the Chinese officials in the caravan that Tachienlu would be a much nicer place than Kanze, and so when they had safely escorted the body there they decided to make, as soon as possible, for this border town.

Kanze, in recent years, has become the most important centre in Sikang. Wisely, it has always maintained a pro-Chinese attitude. The Dajay lamasery, only a short distance beyond, was pro-Tibetan, and in the fighting which took place some years ago between China and Tibet, the powerful Dajay lamasery was completely destroyed.

The Kanze lamasery is the centre of what is known as the Hor States and there is still a young native princess connected with the House of Kongsar. This young lady is a crack shot and the colonel of 500 Tibetan militia. For months it was rumoured, should the Land of the Lamas continue to close her doors to her Spiritual Head, that possibly the Panchen Lama might take up his residence in Kanze.

When death overtook him on the high, cold and barren plateau on which Jyekundo stands, there was still some talk that the body might be allowed to enter the Forbidden Land and negotiations were immediately entered into. Some of the Lhasa authorities were

IN THE HEART OF THE FORBIDDEN LAND

The Potala, stronghold of the Dalai Lama, in Lhasa. The photograph is one taken by Mr. F. Spencer Chapman, who accompanied an official British Mission to Tibet in 1936

in Jyekundo apparently there to examine the new Dalai Lama, which the Panchen had picked up in his wanderings.

In the parleys that took place, the Lhasa gentry tried to explain that seeing the Panchen Lama was dead there was now no further need for an armed, military escort, and that they were prepared to take charge of the body and perform all the necessary lama rites. The only agreement the Lhasa authorities would agree to was that the body, and the body only, was to be handed over to them, and that the Panchen's large following of over 1,000 retainers should go about their business.

To this, both the Tibetans and the Chinese, who had been with the Panchen for many years, absolutely refused ; and so a complete deadlock took place. Lhasa has long been suspicious that among the Panchen's followers are many who are not in favour with the Tibetan Government and who were simply using the Grand Lama's banner as a means of entering the Great Closed Land.

Had the Panchen, with a small lama following, been prepared to re-enter the Land of the Lamas, his case might have been considered by the Lhasa authorities. He was, however, very apprehensive of danger to his life, and without his armed guard, he was not prepared to move. And his military escort was not prepared to surrender its charge.

And all this negotiation and parleying and manoeuvring took place in a cold and windy village in the very heart of Asia, away up near the head waters of the Yangtze River.

Apart from Tachienlu, Jyekundo is probably the most important trading mart in central Asia. To this small trading centre come Tibetan merchants from all over the Roof of the World.

Jyekundo is one of the most important parting of the ways in central Asia ; north to Russia ; south to Burma ; east to China ; and west to India. Like Chiamdo, it forms one of the few doors into Lamaland.

It has now become famous in world history as the place where Chosje Nema, the Panchen Lama, the Spiritual Head of Lamaland, the Grand Lama of Drashe Lhumbo, passed away. Jyekundo was also supposed to be the temporary residence of the new Dalai Lama, a little child discovered by the Panchen somewhere in Amdo. It thus became famous as the temporary residence of both the temporal and spiritual heads of the Land of the Lamas.

John Brown's Body and its disposal was quite a simple arrangement compared with that of the Grand Lama of Drashe Lhumbo. And the end is not yet. Report has it that the Tibetan authorities are prepared to seize it by force if any further attempt is made to carry the body towards Tachienlu. Chosje Nema, Panchen Lama number six, if the theory of re-incarnation is accepted, is not in the unfortunate dead body now being quarrelled over in Kanze.

His spirit or soul, with all its accumulated wisdom and intelligence, is already dwelling in some bright little Tibetan boy in some part of the Land of the Lamas.

Why, then, wrangle over what is now merely an empty house ? Alive, the Panchen enjoyed a monthly remittance of $40,000 or his following did, though latterly this was cut down considerably. The point now is for his retinue to find his soul.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome letters from readers, which should be as short as possible

THE AMIABLE ITALIAN

SIR,—I hope there is no need to explain the fact that so many enemies of, and refugees from, German National Socialism have come to Italy. The political creed might be the same (though even here we can detect considerable differences—differences not only of culture, differences above all of ruthless energy and of comparative tolerance and weakness, which are hidden behind almost identical programmes) ; but of greater importance is the very nature of the Italians, who as a nation are much more passively soft, and softly, indolently resisting, than malleable. It is not at all an easy job for your dictator. The more pressure he uses on his human material, the more the individuals crumble away under his hands. People here are essentially critical and sceptical, and they are far from being gullible (cf., the general consternation about the German–Austrian events, contrary to all official pretences ; Bologna University was closed for two days because of anti-German riots—Bologna and the whole province of Emilia were fervidly fascist from the beginning, and they hate foreign domination, and don't care whether the dominator calls himself the Pope, the Austrian Emperor, or simply Adolf Hitler). But to return to the amiable qualities of this nation ; they are self-critical in a quiet and humorous way, and they know, in spite of all efforts to drive them into megalomaniacal world politics, their natural limitations. Finally, they cannot help having, and holding to, an old civilisation—not a superficial whitewash upon a foundation of solid and stolid barbarism, but the real and normal thing. They cannot help being friendly and polite and considerate, and easy-going, and in a most charming way erratic and inconsequent. In one word, they are very nice indeed, and they are far above national politics.

Italy. B. J.

BRAZIL AND FASCISM

SIR,—As a constant reader of your journal and having resided in Brazil quite a number of years, I am interested in the articles on political conditions in Brazil which have recently appeared in your columns.

I am happy to endorse the statements made by H.E. Dr. Regis de Oliveira, Brazilian Ambassador in London, and find the statements made by Mr. Martinez to be very wide of the truth. Brazilian Government at the present time under Dr. Getulio Vargas is neither rabidly anti-Communistic nor pro-Fascist but rather is it fitted to the exigencies of the difficult times through which this hospitable Republic is passing. What is needed above all is stability and steady calm rule to enable the country to develop its immense natural resources and become a strong factor for good in South America. There has been no apparent interference with this regime so far, and the policy of the Government has not been in the slightest way influenced by Nazi propaganda or Fascist demands. Germans, Italians and Russians are allowed full liberty of opinion so long as they do not attempt to impose their national creeds. No Nazi organisation has been especially singled out for repression here, but

where compliance with the general regulations has been broken by isolated small groups steps have been taken to maintain the Constitution.

Rio de Janeiro. G. A. MULFORD.

PROTESTS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SIR,—Your correspondent M.E.W., of New York, apparently wants to appear in your columns as a saviour in this sorrowful world of ours, but let us be thankful that *his* influence does not extend beyond writing a letter to the WORLD REVIEW.

May I, a Briton living many, many years in Prague, answer him?

Leave the Versailles Treaty alone—you cannot change it—and it is a *fait accompli*. He says "everyone hates the Czechs." Who is "everyone"? May I remark that the American negroes are not very fond of the Yanks, either. He states "the Germans want to belong to Germany." It is true that some Germans here would like to be gathered into the Nazi fold, but, thank Heaven, there are still some Teutons in Europe who can see a little further than their noses. And the Moravians want to go back to Austria, do they? What Moravians? Maybe three or four do, just those with whom M.E.W., of New York, has spoken. "And the Slovaks want to go back to Hungary." To Hungary? to feudal slavery?—no more than our New York friend would want to subject himself to the rule of Red Indian scalp-hunters.

How can he, a child of Washington, tell such untruths? Communism here in Czechoslovakia is less rife than in Austria to-day under Nazi rule. Maybe his idea of the communism bogey is the result of Dr. Benes' pact with Russia. Well, if Czechoslovakia cannot rely on the assistance of her *democratic* friends—Great Britain and Co. (co-founders of the State, don't forget), to whom should she turn?

Prague. A BRITON IN PRAGUE.

SIR,—As a loyal Czechoslovakian from Moravia, I cannot but say a word about the letter in your April number, signed M.E.W. The opinion expressed is superficial and one-sided.

The Germans in Czechoslovakia want to belong to Germany, that may be true, but the Moravians never wanted to belong to Austria nor the Slovakians to Hungary. It is not to be forgotten that there are no Moravians, there are only Czechoslovakians! It is not correct to write Czecho-Slovakia, but only Czechoslovakia. Neither is the Communistic element so strong in our country. If there is a danger from Communism, it is in Japan and Germany. Do not forget that Germany had very friendly connections with U.S.S.R. long before Russia was recognised by Czechoslovakia. When Russia abandoned her former plans and showed a tendency to transform into a democratic state, Czechoslovakia became her ally.

As to the Sudeten Germans a very important psychological moment is to be born in mind: before 1918 the Germans were the masters in our house but after the overthrow they became a minority which was very slow in adapting itself to the new conditions and has caused our Government a lot of troubles. It is a fact that nowhere else minorities are treated in such a way as in Czechoslovakia and this is looked upon as a weakness by the dynamic states.

Prostejov. JOSEPH PEŇÁZ.

S. ARABIAN BOMBINGS

SIR,—The following is a fully summarised translation of a proclamation issued by Mr. Ingrams, "Deputy of the

British Government and Resident Adviser of the Qu'aiti Sultan," before the recent bombing of the Humum tribe.

It is addressed to the chiefs of the ten sections of the tribe specified in detail.

"You are accused," it begins, "as follows, namely :

(*a*) that on January 20th a party of Humum attacked a lorry and robbed it of 2,000 Riyals ;

(*b*) that on January 29th a party attacked a lorry and took two boxes containing 1,350 Riyals and clothes worth 400 Riyals ;

(*c*) that you attacked and fired on a Government lorry ;

(*d*) that a party attacked a lorry between Ghail and Shihr with the result that the Governor of Ghail and another man were killed.

(*a*) So, whereas you have committed such acts against your Sultan and the Government and have after the necessary warnings refused to obey the terms of the Government, we warn you that from dawn on February 13th you are forbidden to use your villages and houses and everything in them and also your wells and fields and pastures until further notice.

(*b*) The Government will enforce this prohibition by making the villages below mentioned and the wells and the fields belonging to you unsafe for you and your cattle at all times by day and night by dropping bombs from aeroplanes and machine-gun fire over all the Humum villages especially to the east of the Kaf road and all villages in which the Humum are ; and you should know :

firstly, that some bombs will explode immediately while others will not do so for many hours so that from the beginning of the bombardment it is unsafe for anyone to remain in that area by day or night until your submission is received by the Political Officer at Shihr and he agrees to stop the bombing ;

secondly, that it is dangerous for anyone to touch or pick up any unexploded bomb.

(4) So we warn you particularly that at dawn on February 15th you should remove from the villages and places mentioned—you and your women and children and cattle to places of safety outside the area and for your safety we warn you that none should approach within rifle-range of any fields near the area of bombardment. For the Government is not trying to kill any of you and in truth the Government is making every effort to avoid doing so, and the only killings you will suffer will be of those persons who disregard these orders and go to the dangerous places specified of their own accord.

(5) The conditions of your submission and obedience for the avoidance of your bombardment or after you have been bombarded, are :

100 she-camels, 100 rifles, the value of the money and effects stolen by you, surrender of all accused persons and two hostages for each section.

Now, as soon as the bombardment begins there will be a Political Officer at Shihr to receive this penalty namely (the fulfilment of) the terms. And, when he receives your obedience and submission, he will stop the bombardment and allow you to return freely to your villages and to remain in the places formerly forbidden."

The bombing and ultimate submission of the tribe followed in due course. Comment is almost unnecessary. There does not seem to be much essential difference between the methods of persuasion adopted by totalitarian and democratic Powers. The end justifies the means. A new philosophy, but surely monstrous !

Jidda. H. St. J. Philby.

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by his reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

LAST MAN IN

FAREWELL AUSTRIA. *Cassell.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by DOUGLAS REED

SELDOM has a foreign translation of a book been so dramatic and tragic a sequel to the original. *Three Times Austria* this book was called when it was published in Austria a few months ago. The Third Austria—held Schuschnigg—the Austria of Seipel, Dollfuss and himself, could and would survive. "It will!" were his concluding words. The book was even supposed to have been admitted to circulation in Germany, as a counter-concession to the admission to Austria of Hitler's *My Struggle*, which begins with the declaration that Austria must disappear.

Now comes the English translation, with Schuschnigg's last radio speech as an appendix, under the title *Farewell Austria*. The red-white-red of the paper cover, gleaming in English booksellers' windows, are the Austrian colours, flown for the last time. Schuschnigg has gone the way of all those, beginning with Erzberger, Rathenau and Dollfuss, who thought to oppose Germany's rebirth as the greatest military power in Europe, her new bid for territorial expansion and conquest. Death; exile; captivity; they have all had to tread one or other of these three roads.

I last saw Schuschnigg about four months ago. He was fit, hard-working, cheerful; he was trying to find time, he told me, to learn English. Now he is somewhere, under house arrest or in a concentration camp, and I am in London and have just finished reading the English translation of his book.

It is sad reading for us who loved Austria, and what foreigner did not love Austria? How clearly he saw the faults that led to the inevitable collapse of great Austria-Hungary; how unable he was to see that by the destruction of the Socialists in 1934 Dollfuss signed at once the birth certificate and the death warrant of the Third Austria.

In these pages you see a man of noble character, modest, truthful, an Austrian of the best. At war's outbreak he thought to see the rebirth of his country: "Thank God," he wrote, "I did not realise what was the tragic path in front of me." Loyal himself, he ignored warnings, disbelieved in treachery, was staunch to Guido Schmidt and Arthur Seyss-Inquart.

A fortnight before Hitler came to power in Germany Schuschnigg visited

the doomed Chancellor Schleicher, who told him that Hitler no longer represented a problem, his movement had ceased to be a political danger, it was a thing of the past. He noted this in his diary. He seems never to have thought that the same thing might befall him.

He gives a dramatic picture of the death of Dollfuss, of the dying Chancellor telling Fey, himself a doomed man, "Ask Mussolini to look after my wife and children." An hour or two after Schuschnigg resigned, with German armies already moving against Austria, Frau Dollfuss and those two children, with false passports, were smuggled across the frontier ; at the moment the book appears Mussolini, the proclaimed protector of Austrian independence, the friend of Dollfuss and his widow, welcomes Hitler to Rome with a lavish splendour unexampled in our times.

Farewell Austria is another melancholy monument to the twentieth century. One wonders to whom the royalties will go.

TWO INNOCENTS ABROAD

OURSELVES AND GERMANY. By The Marquess of Londonderry. *Robert Hale.* 5*s.*

MY QUEST FOR PEACE. By George Lansbury. *Michael Joseph.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by R. H. S. CROSSMAN

HERE are two completely candid books which will, however, teach us more about the English character than about international relations. Both authors carry their insular atmosphere with them when they travel, and as a result, they see only what they want to see and understand nothing that does not fit into English categories of thought. Significantly enough, both were largely dependent on interpreters for the information they give.

Ourselves and Germany is extremely well-written, and will remain, I believe, a document of historical importance. Simply and unassumingly Lord Londonderry records his interviews with Goering and Hitler, and indicates his own views by quotations from personal letters. Apparently his mission was motivated by two chains of reasoning. The first was the belief that since Germany was a growing menace to British interests, we must settle with her before she grows too strong ; the second, was the confused feeling that though there is no Communist menace in England, Hitler is justified in his fear of Bolshevik Russia, and must be supported in building a defence against her. It is interesting to note that whereas Goering was quite open about his Pan-German intentions in Austria and Czechoslovakia, Hitler gave the anti-Communist crusade the first place in his conversations with Lord Londonderry. One problem only remains unresolved in this revealing book. If Germany is afraid of Russia, and England is afraid of Germany, then surely England should ally herself with . . . But no ! Russia is Bolshevik.

Mr. Lansbury, in the course of his world crusade for an economic conference to prevent war, visited Hitler also. On this occasion Hitler did not mention Bolshevism, and as Mr. Lansbury was tactful enough to omit all reference to Russia and to colonies, the interview was highly successful. *My Quest for Peace* is a book which it is hard to criticise. Mr. Lansbury is so unaffected in his enjoyment of travel. So fresh in his political optimism and religious faith, as he bustles from capital to capital, that you can't help feeling proud of him. And yet his political judgment is, to say the least, erratic. He found Blum

"stronger, more certain of what he wishes to do, than most statesmen I have met." He believes that "Christianity in its purest sense might have some chance with Hitler," and that Mussolini has restored to the Catholic Church real temporal power. Most remarkable perhaps is his judgment on Poland: "Listening and looking round me, I could not but think 'life is better for the masses.'"

Reading these two books we can but reflect what security and decency of life there must be in this country. Here are two statesmen, one an eminent Conservative and the other an eminent Socialist, the keenness of whose judgment in domestic affairs is undisputed. And yet in foreign affairs, they are like innocent children, precisely because they cannot conceive a world which does not possess the decency and security of their own land, or statesmen with aspirations different from their own.

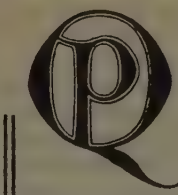
THE INEXORABLE NECESSITY

UNTO CAESAR. By F. A. Voigt. *Constable.* 10s.

Reviewed by HAROLD BRIGHOUSE

MR. VOIGT'S book is a scourge for sentimentalists. Often vehement in expression, it comes from an icy brain; it is a concise and informed statement of the Christian realist's attitude towards foreign affairs inspired by a noble loathing for the new secular religions of the Continent.

The origins of the British Empire are not to the point. The Empire exists and its continued existence is essential to world peace. It is the Pax Britannica, and as to the former German colonies, "quite apart from strategy, the thought that entire populations should be expelled from the Pax Britannica under which they have now lived for close on



By Geoffrey Brereton

INSIDE SPAIN

A record of intimate contacts with the ordinary people of Spain to-day.

"In his country scenes in village inns and farms, he has caught a war-time Spain which has more value and vividness as evidence than all the half-drunk arguments."
—*New Statesman & Nation*

3s. 6d. net

Quality Press Ltd.,

Publishers: 22, Essex Street, Strand, London, W.C.

WAR AND DEMOCRACY

ESSAYS ON THE CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF WAR

George Catlin, E. F. M. Durbin (Editors), J. M. Bowlby, R. H. S. Crossman, Robert Fraser, Douglas Jay, Ivor Thomas.

A symposium in which a group of Socialists, all active members of the Labour Party, have approached the problem of war causation from the psychological, anthropological, historical and economic angles.

10/6 Net

WORLD FINANCE 1937-1938

(Paul Einzig)

Author of "Monetary Reform in Theory and Practice."

"As a financial diarist Dr. Paul Einzig holds a unique position. His powers of observation, his wit, and his fearlessness have given him an international reputation. The latest of his books is well up to standard and covers a period packed with momentous events." *News Chronicle.*

12/6 net

KEGAN PAUL

twenty years seems to me quite outrageous."

Hitler is the enemy. Italy is a sideshow and comparatively little is said of Mussolini, though it is pointed out that Italian command of the Mediterranean means command of its extremities. Italy, indeed, by reason of the Vatican and the assuagements of Roman catholicism, is not wholly totalitarian and it is the total totalitarians whom Mr. Voigt is after—Russia and Germany.

He begins with Russia. He examines the text-books, or the Bibles, of Communism. He finds that Marx and Lenin in their writings were false prophets and that with Stalin practice has gone further in falsity than the untruth of Marx. Has he, then, no good word to say for Russia? But yes! "The face of the Soviet Union is much more attractive when seen from the East than when seen from the West. . . . The Russians of Siberia, a more independent and enterprising race than the Russians of Europe, are rivalling the achievement of the North Americans in an even vaster continent. The Russians are great empire-builders and great colonisers." Russia, however, "is no longer a menace to the Pax Britannica."

But Germany is. Again, Mr. Voigt examines the Bible of a secular religion, *Mein Kampf*. The supreme importance of *Mein Kampf* is that, in it, Hitler states the intentions which he is in manifest process of carrying out. Pan-Germanism —the 80 or 100 millions: Austria, and then what? Probably, next, and by the same methods of careful preparation for bloodless conquest, the German-speaking parts, in turn, of Czechoslovakia and Rumania. National Socialism, as Mr. Voigt says, is the greatest revolutionary force in the world.

One thin ray of hope is seen. The Pax Europaica "can only come about by a spiritual change—in Germany, but also in France and England." The implied hope is that England's strength in armed defence will deter aggressive German action which may never be taken because of a spiritual change. It is a slender hope and more robust is the hope—Barcelona, Canton—that fear of the hell of air-raids will keep major war at bay. Fear of hell has made many saints.

Mr. Voigt's book is fundamental and uncompromising. There possibly are replies to it other than accelerated British re-armament, but, despairingly, I feel that his conclusion is, as he says, "the inexorable necessity."

COLOSSUS OF GENEVA

INTERNATIONAL TRAMPS. By T. F. Johnson. *Hutchinson*. 12s. 6d.

Reviewed by H. A. St. G. Saunders

Many books have been written about the League and there will, doubtless, be many more. Some, like General Temperley's *The Whispering Gallery of Europe*, while not being beyond criticism, are a serious contribution to international affairs and as such are of immense value. *International Tramps* is not one of these.

The story of Nansen as an international figure has yet to be written. His death, with his work unfinished, was a League disaster of the first magnitude and may well rank as a world disaster. His career as High Commissioner for Refugees was a tragedy due not so much to man's inhumanity to man, as to the moral fatigue of a generation which had for four years supped full with horrors and whose sensibilities were incapable of reacting to further shocks.

Major Johnson is on paper not ill-qualified to write such a story. He was Nansen's assistant from 1922 to 1929 and subsequently the executive officer of the Nansen Office for the Settlement

of Refugees. Unfortunately he has written a book which is exceedingly dull when it is not scurrilous.

That the problem of refugees has proved hard and hitherto insoluble, or almost so, few will deny, but to ascribe the League's failure entirely to petty official intrigue in the Secretariat in Geneva or in the Chanceries of Europe or in Russian refugee circles is to mistake a symptom for a cause. No mention is made of the real reason—the chaotic economic condition of post-war Europe. When Governments were being swamped by the rising tide of unemployment, when currencies were crashing in all directions, when their own people were starving, it is difficult to blame them for not opening the arms of mercy wide. It is idle to deny that both the French and British Governments could, and might still, do far more than they have done. They bear a great weight of responsibility. They treated Nansen very badly.

Nansen was a colossus, and as such bestrode the world. The author, placed as he was, had a unique opportunity to paint a unique portrait. He has miserably failed to do so.

How great a story might have been written telling the whole tragedy. It is not to be found in this book, which in its spirit and atmosphere is an insult to Nansen's name.

MENACE OR BLUFF?

GLASS HOUSES AND MODERN WAR. By Jonathan Griffin. *Chatto & Windus.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

BREATHE FREELY! By Professor James Kendall. *G. Bell & Sons.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by AYLMER VALLANCE

To readers whose minds are preoccupied with the potentialities of a future totalitarian war, and who wish first to be raised to the heights of reassured confidence and then flung, lucifer-like, to the depths of despair, I commend these two books. They present forcibly two sides of a question which, unfortunately, can be settled only after the reader's own *corpora vilia* have been put to the proof.

Professor Kendall, who occupies the chair of chemistry at Edinburgh University and is entitled to be heard with respect in so far as chemical warfare is concerned, is a robust optimist. His advice is "Don't Panic." There may never be a general European war involving this country. If there is, fear of reprisals may be a sufficient deterrent against air attacks aimed at civilian populations. In any case, the danger of effective use of gas bombs against large cities is apt to be grossly exaggerated; incendiary bombs can be put out; the risk of death from a high explosive bomb is not vastly greater than that which London pedestrians run at the

JUST PUBLISHED

Schuschnigg's

own story

FAREWELL AUSTRIA

'A remarkable book.'—*The Times.*
'An historic document.'
—*News-Chronicle.*
'A very honest and important book.'
—*Birmingham Post.*
'Dr. Schuschnigg emerges as . . . assuredly a great man.'
—*John Dundas* (*Yorkshire Post*).
'It rings sincere.'
—*J. B. Firth* (*Daily Telegraph*).
'Schuschnigg's Testament'
—*Scrutator* (*Sunday Times*)

CASSELL 10/6 net

hands of motorists; and, if you are the victim of a direct hit, there will be no need to worry.

Except for the final assertion, this is not humorously intended; the learned professor is clearly writing in all seriousness. So far as he minimises the risks from gas, I agree with him. Except as a minor *ad terrorum* concomitant of an air attack, gas, despite its relative cheapness, is unlikely to be used against London. A mixture of high explosive and incendiary bombs would produce, from the invader's standpoint, infinitely more fruitful results. And from this angle of air welfare, I think that Professor Kendall is inordinately optimistic. The attitude which he asks his readers to adopt is too reminiscent of that of the ostrich.

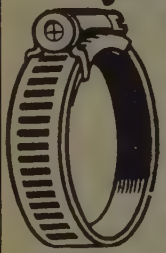
Not so Mr. Griffin. The author of *Glass Houses* is so impressed both with the potentialities of air attack and the vulnerability of London, and other large centres of population, that he urges the nation to set about the business of "passive defence" on a scale far surpassing anything conceived, so far, by the Government.

With much of what he says I am in full agreement. He overstates, I think, the argument that there is no use in relying on the power of counter-attack. (From a strategic point of view I question whether London is really a more vulnerable target than the Ruhr, if vulnerability is measured in terms of the aggressor's power to wreck war-essential industries.) And he exaggerates, in my opinion, the power of the submarine. But anyone who has given an hour's thought to the question will endorse unreservedly his exposure of the futility of Air Raid Precautions in their present form, and will agree with his view that much bigger and more realistic plans are needed for anti-aircraft barrages, food storage and the evacuation of non-essential inhabitants of crowded areas in the event of emergency.

Yet how many readers, I wonder, will be prepared to go as far as Mr. Griffin in his ultimate conclusions, which are that the entire economic life of this country must be re-orientated in order to make the target less accessible to General Goering's bombers? He recommends that, at an immense cost, the Government should "split British industry from top to bottom," and should duplicate in the less vulnerable West (not, thank God, in the Highlands) essential plant now located within the range of German air attack.

Of course, it will not happen. No Government would venture to demand of the country the sacrifices in money and personal convenience which such a scheme for re-colonising England would entail. But suppose an air-minded Dictator so decreed; would it

"JUBILEE"



NO-TROUBLE
WORM-DRIVE
HOSE CLIPS
are the BEST TO GET for RADIATOR-JOINTS, LEATHER COVERS on UNIVERSAL JOINTS, AIR, OIL and WATER HOSE JOINTS.

Easy to fit, remove or refit, without damage, repeatedly.

Guaranteed Never to Leak

Stocked by Garages and Accessory Dealers Everywhere

Send for a Free Sample Clip to Test.

L. ROBINSON & COY.,
20 London Chambers,
GILLINGHAM, KENT.

be, even hypothetically, tolerable to undertake this fantastic and wasteful economic transmogrification, in order to avoid the risk of a knock-out blow from the air, and so make the next war last longer? Speaking as a humble Scot, who visits England only for plunder, I ask myself if there is anything in the pulsating centres of the South worth preserving at such a price. *Propter vitam* . . . but perhaps this is a middle-aged view.

SHORTER NOTICE

BRITANNICA BOOK OF THE YEAR.

Encyclopaedia Britannica Co. £2 5s. 0d.

TO-DAY'S events, discoveries and inventions of premier importance succeed each other with such rapidity that it has been considered necessary to publish a Year Book to keep the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* up to date. The Britannica Book of the Year, as the new publication is called, contains cross references to the *Britannica*, but is at the same time a complete political, economic and scientific survey of outstanding events in 1937. As may be expected, the contributors are all foremost authorities in their particular spheres. No less than 280 experts have contributed to the first Britannica Book of the Year, which is, all in all, a most valuable newcomer.

INQUISITIVE

"Has the meenister gone?" she smiled.

"That werna a meenister, but a dochter," they told her.

"A dochter, was he?" exclaimed the old lady. "Noo, that ye mention it, I maun say that I thocht he was a wee bit inqueesitive for a meenister."—*Manchester Evening News.*

SUBSCRIPTION ORDER FORM

If you would like to receive WORLD REVIEW regularly, fill up this form and send it to your Bookseller or Newsagent, or direct to:—

WORLD REVIEW
40-42 CHANDOS STREET,
LONDON, W.C.2

Please enter my subscription to "World Review" for $\frac{\text{six months}}{\text{one year}}$ *post free commencing with the.....issue. I enclose remittance for* $\frac{7/-}{14/-}$

(*Canada* 13/6)

Name .....

Address.....

.....

Published on the first of each month.

THE WORLD OF FINANCE

RECOVERY IN THE BALANCE

by "RAPIER"

LAST month an attempt was made in these columns to explain the reasons for the repeated financial crises in France which were shown to be due to a long series of budgetary deficits, causing a perpetual threat to stability of the currency, and leading to an exodus of capital amounting to £500,000,000 and large-scale hoarding of gold. Upon this financial instability an almost insuperable burden was imposed upon French industry by the too rigid application of the forty-hour week by M. Blum. The resulting fall in production further increased the financial strain, and when M. Daladier came into office, he was faced with a critical position. It had been thought that he would not allow the franc to depreciate further but rather would tackle the problem at the industrial end first, and by restoring confidence would try to attract back repatriated capital to France. However, after consultations with the British and American Treasuries, to whom France has obligations under the Tripartite Monetary Agreement, it was decided to devalue the franc once more to a level of 179 to the pound. This policy, it is believed, was instigated by M. Paul Reynaud, whose views were contrary to those of some other members of the Cabinet. Actually the franc was held to be undervalued even around 160 to the pound, but it is not apparently intended to let the franc stay at 179 but gradually to bring it back to somewhere nearer 160 if conditions warrant such an appreciation.

The first results of the devaluation have been very satisfactory, the estimated amount of capital repatriated totalling nearly £150,000,000. But so far this repatriation has been mainly confined to covering speculative, or semi-speculative, bear positions, and has not involved the return of much of the hoarded balances and gold held abroad. Millions of Bank of England notes hoarded by small French capitalists have, however, been dishoarded and some working capital for French industry must have been brought back. Some of this capital has been consolidated by investment in National Defence bonds and an issue of approximately £28,000,000 National Defence loan was quickly subscribed. These steps have put the French Treasury temporarily in funds and removed the strain of its financial position, but the fundamental problem of reviving French industry remains to be solved and will depend largely upon the nature of the next batch of decree-laws, especially upon the handling of the difficult question of the application of the forty-hour week.

The reverberations of the French devaluation were mainly felt in Belgium whose competitive export industries were threatened by the cheapening of the franc. Speculators, who had netted a large profit from bearing the franc, naturally turned their attention to the

Belga, which was subjected to heavy bear sales. The Belgian authorities took the orthodox steps of raising the bank rate to protect their currency and of selling gold. But the Cabinet crisis which led to the fall of the Government on May 13th, increased the strain, and though the National Bank has ample resources to protect the currency, it is a moot question whether a maintenance of the present gold content of the Belga is in the best interests of Belgian industry.

A minor effect of the franc devaluation was a tightening of the London money market owing to the heavy withdrawal of French balances, but this effect was offset by the skilful handling of the situation by the Bank of England. However, these perpetual movements of so-called "Hot Money" from one centre to another are disturbing and point the moral drawn in the annual report of the Bank of International Settlements "that the freedom which national monetary independence seems to give is fallacious. It cannot break the inevitable interdependence of modern countries."

Nor, as the same authority points out, can abundance of gold and a cheap money policy prevent prices from falling. Both Britain and America have pursued such policies over the last few years, but all the signs in both countries point to depression and falling prices. In America there is an evident trade depression, and in Britain, despite its rearmament activities, there is a definite trade recession. This trend has been more marked this month in Britain, by a falling-off in steel production, by the re-imposition of the pig-iron duty and by falling receipts in railway goods and coal traffics. The cotton industry is in as great a depression as ever it has experienced since the war, and luxury trades are hard hit. The reason for this

From Kent

"Enclosed please find cheque value £2,000 for Shares in your Society, which kindly acknowledge and add to my Account with you."

Another item from our postbag, which should convince you that this Society is the ideal medium for your investments.

Reliance
PERMANENT
BUILDING SOCIETY

Established 1862.
PERCY STREET
LONDON —— W.
Tel.: MUSeum 3628.
Member of Building Societies Association

'You may know a Carpenter by his chips . . .'

. . . and recognize a safe investment by the way its shares react to world-wide political and industrial unrest.

The shares of the 'Chelsea' do not fluctuate in value. Their dividends, consistently maintained at the same generous level, are invariably paid with absolute punctuality.

3½% Free of Liability to Income Tax
Equal to £4-16-9 per cent gross.

Write for Brochure "Share Investments."

CHELSEA PERMANENT BUILDING SOCIETY

110 KING'S ROAD, CHELSEA, S.W.3

Telephone: KENsington 6681 (2 lines)

Established 1878 Assets exceed £1,000,000

Secretary: John McKiernan, A.C.I.S., A.L.A.A.

recession is two-fold. Britain cannot be prosperous while the United States remains depressed. Both directly as a purchaser of British goods, and indirectly as a purchaser of raw materials from the British Empire, America is the largest market in the world. The other factor causing recession is lack of confidence in the international political outlook. For though there has been some relaxation of European tension since the signing of the Anglo-Italian agreement, many thorny problems remain to be solved including that of Czechoslovakia, Spain and the Far-Eastern imbroglio.

Business conditions in America show no sign of revival and seem likely to get worse before they get better. There have been further attempts to find a compromise in the eternal struggle between business men and the Administration, but these have as yet taken no very definite shape, though there are hopes that the long-drawn out quarrel between President Roosevelt and the utility companies may be approaching a compromise. Nothing would do so much to restore confidence as a settlement of this dispute, which has held back large orders for re-equipment and expansion in these industries. But the President does not lack tenacity and appears once again to have recovered his ascendancy over Congress which he temporarily lost in his defeat over the Federal Reorganisation Bill. He is therefore unlikely to compromise with utilities except on his own terms, and it remains to be seen whether they will accept them. There must be some revival of trade when the new Government spending programme gets into operation later in the summer, but this will not be permanent unless the confidence of business men has at the same time been restored. It is confidence which is still lacking all over the world.

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS: APRIL 14—MAY 14

ANGLO-ITALIAN AGREEMENT

THE Agreement embodied in a series of self-contained instruments, signed on April 16th, was conditional, explicitly, on "a settlement of the Spanish question" and, implicitly, on England's recognition of the Italian Empire in East Africa; it was to come into force at a date to be determined later, and would be subject to bilateral revision at the instance of either party. In part it confirms existing engagements: Italy's admission (April and December, 1936) of her obligations to Great Britain regarding Lake Tana; her pledge to the League (June, 1936) not to militarise the Abyssinians; England's recognition (Treaty of 1888) of the freedom of the Suez Canal in peace or war; and the Anglo-Italian declarations (January, 1936, and December, 1937) on the *status quo* in the Western Mediterranean. For the rest, the parties agreed to exchange information regarding their armed forces in the Mediterranean, Red Sea, Gulf of Aden and North-East African territories, and concerning any new naval or air bases in the Eastern Mediterranean; to abstain from encroaching on the independence of Yemen or Saudi Arabia, or fortifying the former Turkish islands in the Red Sea. They are opposed to any such encroachments by a third Power. They will mutually refrain from unfriendly propaganda. Italy, for her part, will reduce her Libyan garrison at the rate of 1,000 a week to one half of its strength on March 8th last; she will withdraw her volunteers from Spain as and when the Non-Intervention Committee may decide under the British plan for proportionate evacuation, or in any case at the end of the civil war; finally, she will conform to the London Naval Treaty. Great Britain, for her part, will take steps in the League Council to facilitate the recognition of Italy's sovereignty over Ethiopia.

Egypt was associated in the assurances regarding Lake Tana, in negotiations that would subsequently fix the new frontiers in East Africa and in an immediate agreement for neighbourly relations, under which, *inter alia*, England, Egypt and Italy would co-operate in combating slavery.

As regards Palestine, Italy gave oral assurances not to create difficulties; it was agreed that the Mediterranean declaration was no bar to the termination or variation of the Mandate, if constitutionally effected.

The Italian Press emphasized parity between Empires as the essence of the Agreement. The latter was approved by the British Parliament (May 2nd). Mr. Chamberlain described it as "only the first step" towards a saner situation. President Roosevelt expressed "sympathetic approval," though withholding comment on its political features.

Though conditional, the Agreement produced an immediate *détente* in Anglo-Italian relations. Discussions for a complementary accord were opened (April 22nd) at the instance of France, between the French Chargé d'Affaires and Count Ciano; adjourned owing to the latter's absence and Herr Hitler's visit. They were resumed on May 11th. The opposite standpoints of the two States regarding the Spanish War were described in *Il Duce's* Genoa speech (May 14th) as an obstacle to early agreement.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH ENTENTE

ON April 28th–29th, M. Daladier, Premier, and M. Bonnet, Foreign Minister of France, conferred with Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax in London on questions affecting peace, some of which are dealt with elsewhere

in this Diary. The main result of the meeting was the decision to develop the policy of collaboration in defence of the common interests and ideals of the two countries, and to extend the General Staff contacts contemplated in the Arrangement of March, 1936, so as to include the fullest co-ordination of defence, especially air defence, and of resources and supplies, these forming an accord so close as to constitute a virtual alliance.

THE DANUBE BASIN

At the Anglo-French Conference (April 28th-29th) it was agreed that projects should be worked out by experts for enabling Czechoslovakia and the Danubian States to preserve their economic independence. In Prague it was suggested that agreements should be framed enabling these States to procure goods now obtained only from Germany. The German Press denounced the project as tending to divert trade for political ends and to exercise pressure on Germany.

HERR HITLER'S VISIT

The same problem was discussed, but from an opposite angle, during Herr Hitler's visit to Rome, where he was magnificently received (May 3rd-8th). No complete solution was announced, but it was reported that Germany's interests were, at any rate, deemed predominant in Hungary, and Italy's in Jugoslavia, while Italy's former trade with Austria was to be safe-guarded. Herr Hitler spoke of the co-operation of the two Powers " with a clear division of their spheres."

For the rest, the speeches of the two heads of States (May 7th) proclaimed no aggressive intention and no enlargement of the " axis." Il Duce spoke of the two nations as working, with others, for " a new international regime," offering fresh safeguards for peace, while the *Führer* bade all beware of resisting " their natural development "; he declared the " Alpine Frontier," not the Brenner only, as forever intangible.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On April 24th, at Karlsbad, Herr Henlein formulated eight demands on behalf of the German inhabitants, including: equality between Germans and Czechs; recognition of the Sudeten Germans as a corporate body; fixing of German districts with a local government under their own officials; redress for past wrongs; and the right to profess the German " Volkstum " and political doctrine. He rejected the promised codification of minority laws as a perpetuation of wrongs; finally, he postulated for an understanding with Germany, a revision of the " myth " of Czech history, and of the foreign policy which placed the country into the camp of Germany's foes.

The Czech Cabinet (April 26th) rejected the eight points as a basis of discussion, and informed the Western Powers of the concessions which it contemplated in the Nationality Statute. The Anglo-French Conference (April 29th) held that, in view of the threat to peace and the terms of the Minorities Treaty (1919), the question was neither a purely German issue nor a matter of Czech domestic policy; it decided on diplomatic action for a " peaceful and equitable " settlement. This took the form of an Anglo-French *démarche* at Prague (May 7th), advising that all possible concessions consistent with security should be made, a counsel which M. Hodza's government was disposed to accept. In Berlin, where this step was notified for information by Great Britain, official circles approved the advice given.

On May 8th the Magyar minority in Czechoslovakia made demands for local government on the same lines as those of Herr Henlein. The Polish Minority put forward somewhat similar claims on May 11th.

THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

On April 15th, General Franco's right wing reached the coast of Vinaroz,

severing communication between Barcelona and Republican Spain. Foiled before Tortosa (April 20th), it turned south towards Castellon, supported by warships, and on May 8th was engaged with the "Valencia Corps" near Alcala de Chisbert. The left wing made slow progress towards Andorra. The centre was held on the River Segre. On April 23rd, General Franco launched a new offensive from Teruel towards Castellon. Rain retarded all operations.

General Miaja, the Republican Commander at Madrid, was given full power in the separated provinces, and infused new vigour into the troops on the Castellon front. Dr. Negrin announced (May 2nd) thirteen points for which the Republic would fight to the end, including a plebiscite on the form of the State, regional liberties, and an amnesty.

On May 12th, Portugal officially recognised General Franco's Government.

The States whose subscriptions were in arrears agreed (April 25th) to keep the Non-Intervention organisation in being, despite Russia's refusal to contribute. The Anglo-French Conference (April 28th) decided to urge the Non-Intervention Committee to begin the withdrawal of "volunteers"; the French Government was willing for frontier control to be re-imposed when the census of "volunteers" had begun.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The May Session of the Council on May 12th examined the British proposal to discuss the recognition of Italy's conquest of Ethiopia (see May Diary, p. 87). The standpoint agreed between the British and French Governments was that the League had not bound its members to refuse recognition, and that the withdrawal of Sanctions (July, 1936) had left Members free to act as they chose, though their decisions were of concern to other Members. This view Lord Halifax asked (May 12th) the Members to endorse, on practical

THIS WORK OF REFERENCE CAN NEVER BE OUT OF DATE

EVERY WEEK

a new bulletin is added to its contents, thus making it truly an up-to-date Diary of world-events. ● The Index provides immediate reference to every single entry. It is renewed every week in order to cover the latest as well as all previous reports. ● Keesing's bulletins present in an unbiased manner the essential news items concerning Politics, Economics, League of Nations affairs, Religion, Education, Science, Literature, Engineering, Law, Medicine, Sports, etc. ● Other features include a weekly International Book List as well as important statistics, tables, graphical charts, diagrams, etc., covering such subjects as Unemployment, Cost of Living, Armaments, Population, Elections, National Savings, Industrial and Agricultural Production, Taxes, Revenues, etc., from 1931 till last week.

TO

KEESING'S

107 Fleet St., London, E.C.4 (Central 3441)

Please give me full particulars of "Keesing's" without cost or obligation on my part.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

W R

grounds, since Italy had control of the country—without, however, reversing any decision or attitude of the League's organs, and without taking any formal decision. M. Bonnet (France) spoke in the same sense, observing that it was not France's fault that the League possessed no army. The Emperor, who appeared in person, protested against this sacrifice of his nation and of the Covenant's principles, and claimed that the Assembly was alone competent in the matter. After a debate the President voted that the great majority of the Council shared the Franco–British view, the question of the competence of the Assembly and Council being left intact.

Denouncing the increase of foreign intervention in Spain (May 11–13th), Senor del Vayo criticised the Anglo–Italian Agreement as implying that Italian "volunteers" might remain in Spain till the end of the war, and blamed Great Britain and France for the one-sided non-intervention policy, which deprived Spain of her right to buy munitions abroad. Lord Halifax defended non-intervention as a wiser policy than neutrality, and showed that foreign intervention was not only on one side; he indicated England's willingness to support the League in any effort for conciliation. M. Bonnet expressed France's sympathy for the Spanish people, and trusted that the plan for withdrawing "volunteers" would shortly be applied. The Spanish resolution advocating the end of non-intervention was rejected (no less than nine members abstaining) on the same day (May 13th) that the Foreign Affairs Committee in Washington discarded Senator Nye's resolution for raising the embargo on munitions for Republican Spain.

The promised memorandum of the Swiss Government concerning neutrality (see March Diary, p. 79) was submitted by M. Motta to the Council on May 11th. It declared that Switzerland must fall back on her long-recognised absolute neutrality, which the Council was asked to declare consistent with the Covenant. A formula which was held to debar other Members from claiming the "special" status of Switzerland, and to preclude the latter from objecting to the League's presence at Geneva as contrary to her neutrality, was finally adopted on May 14th, Russia abstaining.

In regard to China, the Council contented itself, with renewing (May 14) its approval of the policy of individual aid, and reminding all concerned of the illegality of gas warfare, expressing once more its sympathy with China's "heroic struggle."

Finally, Chile made her long-expected announcement of withdrawal from the League (though not from its technical organs or from the Hague Court) on the ground that the maintenance of the Covenant's coercive clauses was a bar to the League's universality.

THE FAR EAST

After their reverse at Taierchwang (April 7th) the Japanese, reinforced in part by troops withdrawn from Manchukuo, launched an offensive in Shantung, in co-operation with troops moving from the South, designed to crush the Chinese forces in the Suchow area, and to unite the northern and central occupied territories. After heavy fighting, the Chinese troops, whose tenacity was now admitted by their enemies, were driven from Lini (April 13th) and Tancheng (May 1st). A fresh offensive, developed about May 8th, brought the Japanese on May 13th across the vital Lunghai Railway.

On May 11th–12th, Japanese landing forces occupied Amoy island and city.

Rumours of Prince Konoye's resignation were dispelled by his announcement of a vigorous military policy (May 2nd) destined to crush the Chinese National Government. Mr. Hirota (May 9th), hoped it would soon be possible to merge the Nanking and Peking Governments in one body, which Japan might then recognise.

On May 3rd, Japan again protested to Russia against the furnishing of aeroplanes and pilots to China.

Printed in Great Britain for the Proprietors by Graphic Arts Ltd., London and Woking, and Published by Chatto & Windus, 40-42 Chandos Street, W.C.2. Sole Agents for Australasia: Gordon & Gotch (Australasia) Ltd. For South Africa: Central News Agency Ltd. (London Agents: Gordon & Gotch Ltd.)

FROM THE ARCTIC

"Up here only the very best of Tobaccos is good enough . . . ."

We were proud, and justly so, we think, to receive this *epic* tribute to Barneys and Punchbowle from their most distant smoker up in the Arctic Wilds. He writes from a Hudson Bay Post in the Western Arctic District . . . 400 miles *within* the Arctic Circle . . . and his letter took *four months* to reach civilisation's nearest point.

" I have been a heavy smoker of 'Barneys' for quite a number of years now, and though I very occasionally try some other brand, if I accidentally run short, I have yet to find a Tobacco that can beat either 'Barneys' or 'Punchbowle' for real smoking satisfaction.

" In surroundings like mine, up here in the far North, where pleasures are few in number, smoking, for me at least, ranks number one, and only the very best of tobaccos is good enough."

We have often said that Barneys *would* reach the remotest smoker in Factory-fresh condition, from our knowledge of the wondrous efficiency of its *patented* "EVERFRESH" Container. This is one more proof . . . *despite* 65° *of Frost*. And not so long ago a smoker from Iraq was thanking us for the perfect condition of Barneys there, with the thermometer registering 116° *in the shade*.

Give "EVERFRESH" Barneys a trial. Barneys is **good**; outstandingly and **uncommonly** good. Certainly no other Tobacco has ever won such praise from smokers so well **qualified** to judge.

There are three strengths of Barneys: **Barneys** itself is *medium*, **Punchbowle** is the *full strength* form and **Parsons Pleasure** is *mild*. Each is packed in the "EVERFRESH" Tin which keeps the Tobacco factory-fresh *indefinitely*, 1 oz. 1/2d.; and in "READY-FILLS" for quick, easy pipe-filling. In handy cartons of 12, 1/2d.

BARNEYS TOBACCO

T.106) MADE BY JOHN SINCLAIR LTD., NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE

ESTIVIN

Relieves

HAY FEVER

We guarantee to refund your money upon receipt of the bottle, if ESTIVIN fails to relieve your condition.

WHAT MORE CAN WE SAY?

Free Samples are unnecesary in view of this offer.

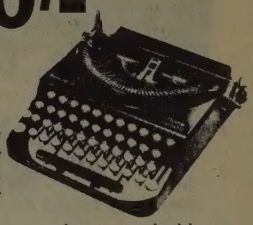
Hundreds of unsolicited testimonials received from grateful sufferers only remind us of the countless thousands to whom ESTIVIN is still unknown. Please help us reach them by telling your friends about ESTIVIN, and our offer.

You can get ' ESTIVIN ' from your Chemist, the price is 4/9 per bottle.

Or from the distributors, Messrs. Thos. Christy & Co. Ltd., 4-12, Old Swan Lane, London, E.C.4.

Clinical samples gladly sent to members of the Medical profession.

ONLY 10/- DOWN



A brand new Remington Home Portable — the world's most popular portable typewriter — for only 10 - down and 20 monthly payments of 10 -.

The perfect writing machine—invaluable to business and professional men, teachers, students—and in every home ! Has every essential feature of the big office typewriters—standard 4-bank keyboard, back-spacer, etc. Weight only 11 lb., size only 12½ " x 12 " x 5 ", complete with case. Easy to carry from room to room—convenient for travelling. For full details, send coupon TO-DAY—or apply to your local Dealer or Stationer.

REMINGTON

HOME PORTABLE ONLY **£9:9:0**

(Assembled in Gt. Britain by British labour.)

Cash, or 10 - down and 20 monthly payments of 10 -

" More Remingtons built and sold in 1937 than any other make."

REMINGTON TYPEWRITER Co. Ltd.
100, GRACECHURCH ST., LONDON E.C.3
('Phone: MANsion House 3333).

Please send me (free and without obligation) full particulars of the Remington Home Portable.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

..... CC410

A Request to Readers

In order to extend the influence of WORLD REVIEW, we would be grateful if you would send us the name and address of at least one friend to whom we might send a descriptive brochure.

40-42 Chandos Street
London, W.C.2

EVERYMAN'S SHAVING CREAM

The BUSINESS MAN
needs a *spruce* shave

The Business Man is aware how important an asset a fresh and alert face really is. The clean, invigorating shave, without a trace of skin-soreness, that Parke-Davis Shaving Cream gives, makes it his obvious choice. It tones up his face muscles for the rest of the day.

Chemists sell large 1/6 tubes, or write for a 7-day free sample to Dept. 212/71 Euthymol, 50 Beak Street, London, W.1. You get the same antiseptic shave from the Parke-Davis Shaving Stick, 1/6 from all chemists.

PARKE-DAVIS
Shaving Cream

SCANDINAVIA BECKONS

by
AMY OAKLEY
With drawings by Thornton Oakley

Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland possess an amazing variety of attractions for the discerning tourist. Their legendary and romantic past, their scenic splendours, their leadership in the arts and social legislation, their picturesque cultural survivals contrasting with the modernity of their cities, all combine to place these countries in the forefront of holiday temptations. In this fascinating book, Mrs. Oakley with her gifted pen and Mr. Oakley with his incomparable drawings have brilliantly transcribed the magnetism of these lands and their inhabitants. The indispensable companion to everyone who—be it in his armchair or on a liner that penetrates the fjords and the Baltic—plans a trip to the historic haunts of the Vikings. **15/-.**

Appleton-Century Book Service sent free on request

D. APPLETON-CENTURY COMPANY
34 BEDFORD STREET LONDON

Also
M.L. Liqueur Whisky
12 years old.

WORLD REVIEW

Volume V. No. 5. *Incorporating* *'REVIEW OF REVIEWS' and 'WORLD'* *July*, 1938

40 CHANDOS STREET
LONDON, W.C.2.

Telegrams: BOOKSTORE, LONDON
Telephone: TEMPLE BAR 0127—9

Editorial Board:

J. W. WHEELER-BENNETT
VERNON BARTLETT
JOHN McDOUGALL
ALISON OUTHWAITE

CONTENTS

		PAGE
WHY THERE WON'T BE WAR	*Vernon Bartlett*	9
BRITAIN ON THREE FRONTS	*Cartoons*	15
SO YOU'RE GOING ABROAD	*"Reynard"*	16
FOREIGN BODIES	*"Floodlight"*	17
RHODESIA FOR THE JEWS?	*Count R. N. Coudenhove-Kalergi*	23
THE RED LIGHT		
TRIAL BY PROVOCATION	*"Münchener Neueste Nachrichten," Munich*	28
BALANCING ON BAYONETS	*"Berliner Tageblatt"* ...	30
HUNGARY AFTER THE ANSCHLUSS	*Count Stephen Bethlen, "Hungarian Quarterly," Budapest*...	33
A LINK IS FORGED	*"Voix Européennes," Paris* ...	41
TWO SLAVS APART		
POLAND & CZECHOSLOVAKIA	*"Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie," Budapest*	46
HISTORY OF RIVALRY	*"Gazeta Polska," Warsaw* ...	52
PARIS ON THE BRITISH ROYAL VISIT	*Cartoons*	57
SCANDINAVIA STAYS NEUTRAL	*Mr. Rickard Sandler*	58
CANADA LOOKS SOUTH	*"Current History," New York* ...	60